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International Affairs

London PRESS ASSOCIATION reports that EC peace envoy Lord Carrington announced that "he is stepping down from his role in trying to bring an end to the conflict in the former Republic of Yugoslavia. But he said he would continue to play a less intensive part in future peace negotiations."

While opening the London Conference on Yugoslavia, Cochairman John Major, told "those who wanted peace that the world was on their side but warning that any side trying to prolong the war could expect only international condemnation and isolation and the toughest measures against them," London PRESS ASSOCIATION reports. In his opening address, UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali "said a new intellectual and practical foundation was now required to approach such conflicts, with new princibles under which they could be stopped by collective effort and their causes resolved."

Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, joined Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in a protest "because Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina were not allowed to enter the main conference hall" in London, TANJUG reports. Hadzic "demanded that his delegation be allowed to participate in the meeting as all others—that is, in the main conference hall—and not in adjacent rooms."

Croatia

Zagreb radio reports that President Franjo Tudjman, prior to his departure for the Conference on Yugoslavia in London, commented: "Expectations of the London conference are both skeptical and at the same time, on the part of some, very optimistic, but I think we should be realistic and recognize that this involves at this time the entire world public and all international factors in the problem of halting the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the solution of the crisis on the soil of former Yugoslavia."

Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that President Dobrica Cosic met with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy for the UN Human Rights Commission, in Belgrade. "During their one-hour talk, Mr. Mazowiecki emphasized that the main goal of his mission is to investigate questions of human rights violations in prison camps on the territory of former Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this regard, he stressed that his first impressions of the areas he had visited so far are that there exists a high degree of mutual hatred, particularly brutal and inhuman ethnic cleansing."

Poland

Deputy Foreign Minister Iwo Byczewski, acting on instructions from Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, called in German Ambassador Franz Bertele to protest "a decision by the German Federal Government to extradite to the United States four of the six Poles detained in prison in Germany since March on charges of illegal arms trading in the U.S.," PAP reports. Byczewski stated that "the Polish Government requested a reconsideration of the decision, and called for the suspension of all actions relating to extradition against the two remaining detainees."

Delegations Gather for Conference on Yugoslavia

Carrington Steps Down

LD2508124192 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1215 GMT 25 Aug 92

[By James Hardy, PRESS ASSOCIATION lobby correspondent]

[Text] EC peace envoy Lord Carrington today announced he is stepping down from his role in trying to bring an end to the conflict in the former Republic of Yugoslavia. But he said he would continue to play a less intensive part in future peace negotiations.

The shock news came in a statement issued through the Foreign Office as leaders of the six former Yugoslav states arrived in London for a crucial world peace conference.

Lord Carrington has headed the EC's efforts to bring an end to the killing and bitter fighting in Bosnia and Croatia since last September. The task saw him shuttling between European capitals attempting to bring the warring sides to the negotiating table in the search for a political settlement.

Lord Carrington said: "As I informed the EC Presidency last week, I have decided that after a year's intensive association with the peace conference I can no longer devote to it the full-time effort which will be necessary and will extend over a considerable period.

"The London peace conference seemed the right time to review the degree of my involvement. I have, however, been asked and have agreed to continue to be associated with the work of the conference."

UN Head Rejects Military Intervention

LD2508165592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 25 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, August 25 (TANJUG)—U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Tuesday [25 August] explicitly rejected military intervention as a way of dealing with problems in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In an interview to the BBC, Butrus-Ghali said that "For the time being force is also unnecessary for the protection of humanitarian effort" of the international community, "because aid still regularly arrives through the Sarajevo airport."

"Any military assistance of other countries to Bosnia-Hercegovina would not be a realistic solution," he said.

Butrus Ghali allowed for the possibile use of internationally agreed force "only if aid cannot reach all threatened inhabitants of Bosnia."

On the international conference on Yugoslavia opening in London on Wednesday, Butruos-Ghali said it should "encourage dialogue", contribute to intensifying humanitarian drives and pave the way for "permanent work" on the problem of Yugoslavia through a Geneva-based standing committee and working groups.

So far, ad hoc political attempts to deal with the Yugoslav crisis have been unproductive and futile, said Butrus-Ghali.

Informed sources say that this was a hint at chairman of the E.C.-sponsored conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington, who has just announced his resignation.

The BBC diplomatic editor said that Carrington has resigned because his efforts produced no results while 'Many in the world already see him as an obstacle to the reaching of a solution.'

Hurd: 'Best Chance of Peace'

LD2608085592 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0828 GMT 26 Aug 92

[By Sarah Womack]

[Text] International peace talks in London starting today were the "best chance of peace" in what was once Yugoslavia, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd declared today.

"We are trying to get to the heart of the matter. We won't sort it all out this week but if we can establish the principles, the programme of work, the pressures to give the programme of work its best chance, then we will have made some necessary progress."

His comments came amid escalating fighting in Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with each side trying to consolidate territorial gains before the start of the talks. Leaders of Bosnia's battling factions last night staked out positions which gave little hope for an early breakthrough at the talks as they assembled in London for the conference.

Mr Hurd told the BBC Radio 4 Today programme that Prime Minister John Major and UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, who are co-chairing the talks, would try to establish:

—that Bosnia was a country with recognised frontiers which could not be divided by force.

—the programme of work for the international community, which had to include enforcing sanctions.

—pressures, including sanctions, so the programme of work agreed had a chance of success.

Serbs had hoped the conference would ratify what had happened in Bosnia in recent months, Mr Hurd said. But he went on: "The reverse is going to happen and the world will not accept Serbia Montenegro into the international community so long as the present policies are

continued." He said the use of force had been examined but the idea that air strikes could deal effectively with highly mobile mortars "is not practical". New sanctions would be imposed on Serbia if necessary, possibly including cutting off all communications. Asked if the conference was the last chance of peace, Mr Hurd said: "It's the best chance of peace."

But his view of Bosnia's territorial integrity was rejected by Bosnian Serb leader Dr Radovan Karadzic. He insisted that if the talks were to make any progress they must recognise that the break-up of Bosnia was now inevitable. His warning came as he offered to surrender up to 15 percent of the territory controlled by his forces as the price of peace in the former Yugoslav republic. "We have three national communities which are extremely antagonised. They control their own territories...Bosnia-Hercegovina doesn't exist any more as a state," Dr Karadzic said on BBC TV Breakfast News.

The Bosnian Government of Dr Alija Izetbegovic has firmly resisted any move to divide the republic. But the Serbs now control around 70 percent of the territory while the Croats, who have carved out a substantial enclave in the west, are also thought to favour partition. Dr Karadzic denied the Serbs were responsible for last night's sharp escalation in the fighting in Sarajevo. But he issued a grim warning of the consequences if the London talks fail: "I am afraid it is going to be a more savage and long-lasting war."

With the death toll mounting in Sarajevo, it was always clear the conference faced a daunting task. Final preparations for the peace conference were dramatically interrupted yesterday by news that Lord Carrington was stepping down as the EC's chief mediator. Mr Major will lay down the essential principles for progress.

The participants, particularly the Serbs, will be told they face international isolation if they fail to agree to stop using force, end ethnic cleansing, close detention camps, and respect frontiers and minority rights.

Panic, Hurd Discuss Issues

LD2508172192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1607 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] London, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd met here on Tuesday [25 August] and discussed demilitarization of Bosnia, restoration of peace and prevention of "ethnic cleansing."

Complete agreement is understood to have been reached in the talks.

Hurd pointed out that the positions Panic put forward during his peace tours aimed at resolving the Yugoslav crisis "were very wise," well-informed sources said.

He also said that talks on "resolving the problem of Kosovo as a constituent part of Serbia" should continue in order to prevent a deterioration of the situation.

Panic informed Hurd about the talks he had initiated with ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and about his government's readiness to resume them.

Ethnic Albanians in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija enjoy all rights provided by international conventions, and even greater than that. However, they do not recognize Serbia and Yugoslavia, and they want Kosovo-Metohija's secession and annexation to Albania.

Panic Accepts Principles

LD2508174792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 25 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] London, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic said here on Tuesday [25 August] the Yugoslav Government was accepting the basic principles for resolving the Yugoslav crisis as laid down by the co-chairmen of the London conference, British Prime Minister John Major and U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

Speaking at a crowded press conference at London's Inn on the Park Hotel, Panic said he had a five-point plan for a final settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The principles set out by Major and Butrus-Ghali relate to an immediate, unconditional and lasting ceasefire, end to ethnic cleansing, respect of the borders of the former Yugoslav republics and protection of humanitarian aid convoys.

As his contribution to resolving the crisis, Panic offered guarantees that humanitarian aid would reach Sarajevo safely. He said he had banned arms deliveries from Yugoslavia to Bosnia- Hercegovina as well as all Yugoslav Air Force flights to the neighbouring republic.

All war prisons should be supervised by the International Committee of the Red Cross, said Panic and offered Yugoslavia's help in sending food and medicaments to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Ethnic cleansing is a stain on my people and I will do everything to prevent it, said Panic. He also offered guarantees for the respect of human rights in Kosovo.

Yugoslavia wants peace, and I am convinced that my efforts for peace enjoy enormous support among the Yugoslav citizens, said the Yugoslav prime minister.

Panic said he believed the London conference would yield results.

On Lord Carrington's resignation as chairman of the European Community-sponsored conference on Yugoslavia, Panic said that he should be paid tribute for his efforts, but that a new personality would perhaps have some new ideas and be more successful.

Panic Dismisses Staff Member

LD2608084292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0755 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] London, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic announced in London today that he "gave instructions to the minister of internal affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Pavle Bulatovic, to relieve of duty his assistant, Mihalj Kertes."

As we have learned from Milan Panic's office, the reason for that is that "Kertes did not support the government's program of opposing ethnic cleansing".

The prime minister's office also announced that "Kertes is not a member of the Yugoslav delegation at the London conference" and that "from today he is not an employee of the Yugoslav Government."

Kertes arrived yesterday in London where the international peace Conference on Yugoslavia is being held from today until 28 August.

Kosovo To Present Ethnic Views

AU2608091092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] ATA reports that Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, head of the Kosovo delegation at the London conference, which consists of state and political bodies, told the special reporter of RILINDJA in London, Avni Spahiu, that though in this form of invitation, the participation of Kosovo presents a step forward compared with the conferences of The Hague and Brussels, in which Kosovo Albanians could express their views only through their working commissions.

Dr. Rugova stated that we will now have the possibility to directly inform the conference and international bodies involved in this case about our rights and views. Because of the seriousness of the issue, we expect that the Kosovo delegation will be authorized to present the standpoints of the Albanians from Preseva and Bujanovac who were not invited to London.

The president of the republic said that we cannot expect this conference to solve the problems within two or three days, but it can present the problems and open an important process for thorough and long-term solutions. He said that Kosovars will stand by this process and continue to constitutionalize and institutionally give life to the independence of the Republic of Kosovo. A successful policy requires stability, although we know that it involves laborious and very difficult work, Dr. Rugova stressed.

Limited Participation Questioned

LD2608080192 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] London, August 26 (MTI)—"The Hungarians of Vojvodina are glad to be represented at the scene of the Yugoslavia conference. However, they are dissatisfied with the rule that, similarly to the other ethnic minorities, they are not allowed to attend the conference itself," Andras Agoston, president of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina, told MTI Tuesday [25 August] night.

He added, "we are glad to have been invited since this means that we are recognised as a political subject in the international scene. For this, there has been no precedent so far.

"However, we are dissatisfied because our possibilities are limited under the current circumstances. We asked the organizers to make it still possible for us to expound our position.

"I hope we will have a chance of making further politicians familiar with our views," Agoston said.

Tudjman Outlines Croatian Position

LD2508185892 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] In a statement for Croatian Television, President Tudjman speaks about Croatia's stands at the London conference.

[Begin Tudjman recording] We have no new proposals. We want this London conference, which has the official title of the London Conference on the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [stresses country name], to continue where Carrington's European conference on resolving the crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia left off. We wish to stress that it should not be necessary to start the discussions from the beginning again; rather they should continue from where they left off, and likewise we wish to particularly stress that the earlier recognition, the international recognition of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be brought into question in any kind of equation with that of Serbia or Montenegro or their new Yugoslavia, which are not internationally recognized.

We would like to remind them that we do not want the continuation of the mandate of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] on Croatian soil because there is no reason for this. The completion of UNPROFOR's assignment should be accelerated. The Croatian authorities, as the latest elections show, are capable of establishing in a democratic manner legal and constitutional order in all areas of Croatia. [end recording]

Slovene President Replaced

AU2508165292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Zvone Zorko report]

[Text] The change in the leadership of the Slovene delegation to the London Conference on Yugoslavia was proposed by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, himself. In his introductory remarks at the session of the Commission for International Relations, he stressed that it is evident from the received preparatory documents—some of which were only received late last night—that the London conference does not represent a continuation or expanded version of Carrington's conference on Yugoslavia, as had been originally emphasized and as Slovenia views it, but rather the conference is acquiring an entirely new and different contextual framework, new organization, and new way of working. These documents, above all, do not reflect the sharpness of the assessment contained in the UN Security Council Resolution [No. 770]. These documents do not contain the assessment as to who is responsible for the crisis in Yugoslavia, but rather ascribe the blame to all involved sides—therefore, indirectly to Slovenia, also. There is no explicit demand to put an end to the war and remove all heavy armament, or to start negotiations only on such a basis. Besides, the documents do not mention succession; there is nothing on concentration camps, no mention of ending the ethnic cleansing, and not a word on refugees who are turning into a European problem.

In short, the documents provide no guarantees that the causes that led to the present war will be removed. They also do not condemn the unwillingness of the Serbian politicians to resolve the conflicts in a manner established in Europe.

Slovenia is deeply worried by these facts and justifiably doubts the success of the conference, especially because one can also clearly sense a tendency to restore economic and other links between the individual republics. It is also a fact that the invitation of [FRY Prime Minister] Panic and [FRY President] Cosic is an attempt at a quiet de facto recognition of the FRY that is also suggested by the manner in which the participants were invited to the conference.

It was emphasized at the session of the commission that Slovenia can only attend the conference as a recognized state and a UN and CSCE member, and cannot participate at the same level as a party involved in the conflict and together with the states that are not internationally recognized. Among other problems, let us also mention the problem of official languages—namely only English, French, and Serbo-Croatian are envisaged as such. Because of all the aforementioned reasons that the Slovene delegation will present at the conference in the form of prepared amendments, the commission, at Kucan's proposal, concluded that Slovenia should participate in the conference, but the Slovene delegation be led by Foreign Minister Dr. Rupel, which would be at the level of all other internationally recognized countries.

Hungarian Delegation Outlines Role

LD2608090892 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—Hungary would like to play a low-key but firm role at the Yugoslavia conference, and will press for arms restrictions and a settlement for the minorities, said Istvan Gyarmati, leader of the Hungarian group attending the conference, in an interview with MTI in London on Tuesday [25 August].

"In our view, a regional arms restriction agreement should be worked out within the framework of a general settlement, one which would create a balance of power between the Yugoslav successor states on one hand, and between the successor states and the other states of the region on the other. In Serbia's case, this would imply disarmament, and would set limits to development of armies for others.

"It would be premature to say how Hungary could participate in this agreement, and how the regulations would apply to us. We do not believe that this agreement can be reached at the current conference, but we would like to have this process launched by the conference," Gyarmati said.

"It should also now be openly acknowledged in London that a reassuring settlement of the minority question is an integral part of the general settlement. In our view, the fundamental way to do this is to support all forms of autonomy. We do not want a new trianon, when other countries decided the fate of peoples without asking them. It is not the task of the Hungarian Government to say what sort of autonomy should be granted to the Hungarians and Croats in Vojvodina, to Albanians in Kosovo, or to the Sanjak. Our task is to firmly support the three-tier autonomy plan submitted by Andras Agoston (president of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina), as that accords to the interests and demands of Hungarians living there, and therefore to the Hungarian interest attached to the security of the region," Gyarmati said.

(Agoston's plan proposes a Hungarian area of special status, local autonomy in certain villages, and autonomy on a personal basis.)

"Inasmuch as the Hungarian delegation from Vojvodina led by Andras Agoston, and the other minority delegations, are not allowed into the conference hall, then we shall voice their interests," Gyarmati said. He added that the entire settlement should have international guarantees, in which Hungary intends to participate.

Czechoslovak Minister Meets Hurd

LD2608073592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, as chairman of the CSCE, met with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd shortly after landing in Britain where he is to attend the international conference on Yugoslavia. They agreed that the CSCE does not at present have great chances to resolve the Balkan crisis.

They also discussed association agreements and the prolongation of the trading agreement with the EC which is currently chaired by Britain. According to Jozef Moravcik, London understands the present state set-up development in Czechoslovakia.

As for the developments in Yugoslavia, Minister Moravcik believes that the use of force and foreign military intervention will not bring peace to the region.

Greek Minister Comments on Issues

NC2508204092 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1700 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou arrived in London this afternoon to participate in the international conference on Yugoslavia, set to begin tomorrow. He met a short while ago with his British counterpart Douglas Hurd.

[Begin correspondent Stavros Iliadhis recording] Immediately after his arrival in London, Papakonstandinou went to the Foreign Office, where he met with his British counterpart Douglas Hurd to discuss the situation in Yugoslavia, particularly developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and issues of common concern. The ministers also dealt with issues that will be included in the agenda of the conference on Yugoslavia.

Papakonstandinou told Hurd about Greece's sensitivity on the situation in Yugoslavia and in the Balkans, where old disputes are being revived. He emphasized Skopje's continuing insistence on its positions regarding its name, saying: Skopje must comply with the Lisbon decision. Skopje's insistence on stealing a name that does not belong to it is not the only obstacle. In addition to the appellation, he said, the Skopjans [Skopianoi] have adopted a symbol that does not belong to them, the Veryina star, the star of the Macedonian Kings. This was done after Skopje President Kiro Gligorov admitted that the nation was not related to ancient Macedonia. Papakonstandinou stressed that this act demonstrates that the leaders are maintaining their old views about a Macedonia that includes additional territory to the Republic of Skopje. While this is an irritating fact, he noted, is also proves how right Greece is on the issue.

Answering reporters' questions on the Skopje issue, Papakonstandinou said he does not want to add fuel to the fire, saying: We do not want to create the impression that we are fighting the Republic of Skopje. However, political expectations are hiding behind the use of the name and the adoption of these clearly ancient Greek symbols. One nation's identity should not be allowed to burden our history, our country, or our interests.

Replying to other questions, Papakonstandinou said that the conference on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina will progress if everyone contributes. A meeting of the 12 EC foreign ministers will be held tonight and, Papakonstandinou added, a common position will be taken. The principle of human rights will have to prevail. The atrocities that come with every war will have to be avoided. He added that this dispute will have to be confined to avoid the current danger of expansion. Papakonstandinou said that the conference has a great mission: To eradicate the possibility of the expansion of the war and to end the war itself.

He discussed the issue of Serbian intervention, saying that Greece has already clearly expressed its view. We do not believe that intervention can help bring the solution, he said, adding: We came to the conference with hope, and Hurd believes there is reason for hope. Papakonstandinou also said that there is a possibility that sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro will intensify.

Papakonstandinou discussed the embargo, saying that the British have not accused Greece of violating it. They should look in the direction of bordering countries, which may have sent arms, he said, adding: It is not only an issue of fuel. Papakonstandinou said: The Greeks will comply with any decision that helps end this dispute. If the conference adopts a resolution calling for the use of military measures, we will examine every possibility before we make a decision. However, Papakonstandinou concluded, we rule out the use of military forces from any Balkan country. This will create new bitterness that will damage relations for many generations. [end recording]

Shortly before his departure for London today at noon, Papakonstandinou said that Greece will not participate in a military operation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, adding that he steadfastly believes that no Balkan country should participate in a military operation.

Asked what he will do if Gligorov raises the issue of Skopje recognition, Papakonstandinou said that Greece will insist on its positions.

Rights Committee Sends Appeal

AU2608101692 Tirana ATA in English 0856 GMT 26 Aug 92

["Letter of the Committee of Helsinki of Kosovo to the Organizers of London Conference"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)—The Committee of Helsinki for the Defence of the Human Rights in Kosovo admitted that the Yugoslav crisis cannot be solved if the legitimate rights of the Albanians are not observed. The Committee of Helsinki called upon organizers of the

London conference to ensure the participation of Kosovo as one of the 8 federal units of former Yugoslavia.

In a letter to the organizers of the London conference, the Committee of Helsinki of Kosovo voices its worry for the continuous oppression and systematic violations of the human rights of the Albanians of Kosovo on the part of the Serb authorities. 2 million Albanians of Kosovo, the letter signed by the chairman of the committee Gazmend Pula said further on, are threatened by the same genocide exerted against the Croatians and Bosnians. The Serb policy of iron heel has deprived them of all political and human rights, an open violation of any international documents such as the Final Act of Helsinki, the Paris Charter, etc. Since 1981, Albanians have been subject of the oppression en masse by Serbia and of grave violations of their political, economic, cultural and human rights. Albanians have become second hand citizens, their life keeps worsening.

The actual situation in Kosovo is unbearable for the Albanians, the letter said further on. Measures undertaken by Serbia have aimed at provoking an armed uprising of the Albanians which would serve as a reason to terribly attack them. The Albanians and their political parties have tried not to meet violence with violence, despite the sufferings, humiliation and massacres the Serb state has caused on them. They have made efforts that the question of Kosovo be solved in peaceful way through negotiations. Albanians demand nothing more but their rights be observed, the letter underlines, including the right for self-determination and that all other parties take part with equal rights in determining their future in the conditions when Yugoslavia is being disintegrated according to ethnic pertaining. The Albanians of Kosovo demand participation of their (?legal) representative in London conference, otherwise their absence would be considered as a concession for the Serb aggressors.

The Helsinki Committee for the Defence of the Human Rights in Kosovo appeals to the organizers of London conference to adopt measures to prevent a possible conflict in Kosovo, because very soon this conflict may turn into a Serb-Albanian struggle and perhaps into an inter-Balkan war. Hence, the issue of Kosovo, the letter says, is a test of international seriousness for the observation of the already known principles of the new world order.

Major, Butrus-Ghali Open Yugoslav Conference

LD2608103392 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0942 GMT 26 Aug 92

[By James Hardy, PRESS ASSOCIATION lobby correspondent]

[Text] John Major today bluntly told leaders of the warring factions in the former Republic of Yugoslavia that the world was watching their efforts to achieve peace.

Opening the London peace conference, he offered a carrot and stick approach, telling those who wanted peace that the world was on their side but warning that any side trying to prolong the war could expect only international condemnation and isolation and the toughest measures against them.

Leaders of all six former Yugoslav republics are in London to take part in the talks with senior figures in the world community in a concerted bid to bring an end to the bloody civil war raging across Bosnia and beyond.

Mr Major, who is co-chairing the conference with United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, said Yugoslavia's tragedy was unfolding daily, causing anguish across the world at the waste and despair suffered by its people. "In this room are gathered people who could stop this war, end this bloodshed, reach a lasting settlement," he told delegates.

"I do not believe world opinion will readily forgive anyone who impedes that work.

"The people whom we represent have been appalled by the destruction, the killing, the maiming, the sheer cruelty which has disfigured Yugoslavia. We seek a just peace."

The peace process had to be built on the fundamental principles that frontiers could not be altered by force or Bosnia partitioned by conquest, said Mr Major. People living within those frontiers were entitled to civil rights whatever their ethnic background. The conference intends to set up an action programme to persuade the warring parties to adopt and implement those principles. It is also aimed at establishing a high-level international task group to tackle each of the main problems.

Mr Major said Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic appeared to have struck a note of realism and moderation in his claim that he came in search of peace. But he warned that sanctions and further international pressure would be brought to bear on those governments or factions which did not abide by the conference's principles.

"The different former Yugoslav delegations and in particular those from Serbia and Montenegro must ask themselves these questions: Do you wish to be considered as part of Europe? Do you wish to belong to the world community?

"If so, good. But that means accepting the standards of the rest of Europe and of the world community.

"For those who accept negotiation—and that means a willingness to make concessions and a genuine desire to find compromises—we have everything to offer.

"We will speed up your integration into the international community. We will begin with reconstruction aid. We will offer economic help through trade agreements, export credits, a full partnership in Europe.

"If we do not get co-operation the pressure will inexorably increase—condemnation, isolation. "Parties who stand in the way of agreement can expect even tougher sanctions, even more rigorously policed.

"No trade, no aid. No international recognition or role. Economic, cultural, political and diplomatic isolation."

Mr Major said the conference was also aimed at improving humanitarian relief aid and halting violations of international human rights, and Britain and other countries were prepared to offer armed escorts to help convoys on mercy missions. He bluntly warned the barely-controlled militias which stalk the Bosnian countryside: "We have no hostile intent towards any party in Bosnia.

"But we will not be deflected from our determination to deliver aid where it is needed." He demanded that all detention camps should be closed—and said international relief agencies should be allowed constant and unimpeded access to them.

Dr Butrus Butrus-Ghali warned the conference in his opening address that the UN mission, with its present mandate, could not bring the crisis to an end by itself.

"More, much more, is urgently required. That is why we are here today in London", he said. "The resources of Europe are vast—they are moral, economic and military. I call upon this conference to bring about urgent co-operation between the regional arrangements and agencies of Europe, including NATO and the United Nations Security Council. The purpose should be clear—to turn back the march of misery, devastation and terror."

Mr Butrus-Ghali said "a new intellectual and practical foundation" was now required to approach such conflicts, with new principles under which they could be stopped by collective effort and their causes resolved.

"This is the challenge which we face. Let us hope that in taking up this challenge our conference will make a lasting contribution to peace and security."

The end of the Cold War had opened up "a Pandora's Box of causes and conflicts" which was previously suppressed by the ideological struggle between the superpowers he said.

With the new republics of the former Yugoslavia recognised by the international community, the conflict was now international.

"Not only the future shape and security of one or more member states is at risk but perhaps their very existence," he said.

Other UN member states facing similar instabilities and new confrontations could resort to war and destruction rather than choose negotiation and dialogue, he warned the delegates.

Dr Butrus-Ghali went on: "They must understand, they must accept that the only route for change is one that is legal, peaceful and which contributes to a structure of international peace and security."

The UN Protection Force involved in reopening Sarajevo airport had already secured safe passage of 8,000 tonnes of humanitarian relief in the Bosnian capital. But Dr Boutros-Ghali warned that the international community's expectations exceeded the UN Protection Force's resources and capacity. With UN soldiers vulnerable to attack the success of the operation now depended on the co-operation of the conflicting parties' irregular forces. He said respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity were crucial to any common international progress.

"The former Yugoslavia has been transformed into several member states of the UN. They possess all the rights and duties held by their fellow states in the international community," he said.

"One requirement for solutions to these problems lies in commitment to human rights, with a special sensitivity to those of minorities, whether ethnic, religious, social or linguistic."

One approach to solving the crisis was to make a special appeal to the leaders of all religious denominations. Dr Butrus-Ghali said "systematic torture and killing along racial, ethnic or religious lines" could no longer be tolerated.

"There are some acts of Governments that sovereignty cannot shield. Those in positions of leadership who preside over such crimes must know that they personally will be held accountable by the international community."

The answers lay "not in segregation or separation but in patterns of agreement under which diversity and unity both have a place".

He went on: "It is necessary to begin the work of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction in order to reshape the involved economic, political and social relations which are their common destiny. The UN stands ready to fulfil its role as peacekeeper, peacemaker and peacebuilder, whatever form and format emerges as the most promising avenue towards a settlement."

After the opening statements, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, announced he was walking out of the talks. However, his action was seen as purely symbolic as the Bosnian Serbs were not participants in the conference and were there simply as observers. He told reporters: "The conference is continuing without the Bosnian Serbs. We came here to talk about peace and the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina but we found we are not supposed to be in the main room for the main talks so we walked out."

The move appeared to be a pre-planned gesture as Dr Karadzic admitted he had known they only had observer

status. "We found that our position was not going to be as equal as the Muslim position," he said.

Later Dr Karadzic said in a statement that he intended to write to Mr Major, who holds the EC Presidency, telling him that the possible appointment of Lord Owen as Lord Carrington's successor would be unacceptable. Dr Karadzic said: "Since Lord Owen has stated quite categorically that he has no faith in a negotiated settlement without military intervention, and that intervention should be set against one side only, he is clearly not in a position to mediate, he can hardly sit in a chair as a symbol of impartiality and reason." It would be a "grave mistake" to appoint Lord Owen, he added.

Serbian Krajina Leader Protests Segregation

LD2608160392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] London, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, today joined Dr. Radovan Karadzic in his protest because Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina were not allowed to enter the main conference hall in London.

Speaking on behalf of Serbs from Krajina, Hadzic addressed a protest to the organizer of the international conference on Yugoslavia in London and demanded that his delegation be allowed to participate in the meeting as all others—that is, in the main conference hall—and not in adjacent rooms.

As TANJUG has learned, Goran Hadzic said that the Krajina delegation could leave the conference if their demand is not met.

Karadzic Says Bosnian Serb Role Essential

AU2608154192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] An incident occurred at the very beginning of the international Conference on Yugoslavia. Goran Hadzic and Radovan Karadzic walked out of the conference. Visibly angry, Karadzic told reporters in London that the Bosnian Serbs had come to negotiate and not to sit in some anteroom.

The conference organizers say that the representatives of the Serbs from Croatia, Serbs and Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Hungarians from Vojvodina, and Albanians from Kosovo are not official participants in the conference and that they have been invited to London only so that certain consultations could be held with them.

Just after the incident occurred, Radio Novi Sad reporter Zarko Simovic spoke to Karadzic by telephone and asked him why he and Goran Hadzic walked out of the conference.

[Begin recording] [Karadzic] We did it separately, but basically for the same reason. In the main hall where the talks are held, Bosnia-Hercegovina is represented only by the Muslim side, while the Serbian and Croatian sides are not intended to be there but in an anteroom.

We have come here to negotiate, not to sit in an anteroom. We are the chief protagonists in the Bosnian situation, and if they think they can do the work with Saudi Arabia, then so be it, let them arrange something with them.

There is no solution without the Serbs, and we did not want to sit in an anteroom. We are not interested in that. We will accept bilateral contacts with Carrington and others, but we will not accept sitting in an anteroom while the main event is occurring elsewhere.

[Simovic] Mr. Karadzic, tell us, what can we expect now? Is anyone going to call the Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia back to the main hall, as you call it, and simply include them in the course of events and the negotiations?

[Karadzic] That depends on them, whether they wish the conference to succeed or not. If they want the conference to succeed, then they have to count on the fact that the Serbs are here, and that they have to talk to the Serbs. If they want the conference to fail, then they will not pay much attention to what we are doing. Then the conference will certainly fail. [end recording]

Ganev Emphasizes Need To Intensify Pressure

AU2608133892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] A few hours ago the conference on the former Yugoslavia opened in London. A short time ago Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev addressed the conference, Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Veneta Momcheva reported in London. She highlighted certain points in Mr. Ganev's speech:

[Begin Momcheva recording] The speech laid emphasis on the need to intensify international economic and political pressure on Belgrade through the adoption of a consistent and firm position by all countries. Mr. Ganev expressed Bulgaria's willingness to participate in all mechanisms set up by the international community to monitor observance of the sanctions, including control of the goods traffic in the Bulgarian section of the Danube River.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev proposed that the conference should also pay attention to the severe problems connected with violations of the rights of representatives of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia, and stated that it would be proper for their representatives to attend the conference during its forthcoming work.

In his speech he pointed out that the London conference will fulfill its tasks if it speeds up international recognition of all the former Yugoslav republics. As a first step, Minister Ganev suggested that the former republics themselves should recognize each other now, at the conference, within the borders that existed between

them before the start of the conflict. The London conference must recognize objective facts, such as the existence of an independent state with real borders. At the same time, the conference has to resolve outstanding problems connected with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia through negotiations between the interested parties within the framework of the conference. In his speech, Minister Ganev suggested setting up a special ad hoc group for this purpose.

Stoyan Ganev stressed that the London conference is the right place to put forward an urgent plan to provide economic assistance to the Balkan region, ensure its stabilization, and speed up its integration into Europe. [end recording]

German Minister Calls For Cease-Fire in Bosnia

LD2608130492 Berlin DDP in German 1146 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] London (DDP)—Federal Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel [Free Democratic Party—FDP] has called for a lasting ceasefire for Bosnia-Hercegovina. The ceasefire must be linked with international control of heavy weapons, Kinkel said at the conference on Yugoslavia in London today. In addition, Kinkel demanded the immediate closure of all internment camps and an international court to deal with those responsible for the crimes and violations of human rights, both inside and outside the camps.

Kinkel also said that it is quite crucial for the credibility of peace efforts underneath the military threshold for the sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council "to really take effect". This is necessary for water routes as well as for land routes. Germany will participate in appropriate measures "within the framework of its constitutional possibilities," Kinkel added.

The foreign minister said Serbia, which is conducting a "ruthless war" to create a "Greater Serbia that is as ethnically pure as possible," is mainly to blame for the war in former Yugoslavia. "What is happening is genocide," Kinkel said. The "Yugoslavia" of Serbia and Montenegro has nothing to do with former Yugoslavia, either ethically or legally, historically or intellectually. For this reason it should not be accepted by the international community, Kinkel demanded.

He appealed to the Serbian leadership to choose the way back into the international community. The international community will "never accept territorial gains achieved by force and terror," the foreign minister said. If the Serbian leadership continues the "senseless war," it cannot expect any help from the world community for reconstruction: "The Federal Republic will support this in any event."

Lists 10 Points for Peace

LD2608170492 Hamburg DPA in German 1554 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] London (DPA)—Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel cited 10 points today that the Federal Government is pursuing at the peace conference on Yugoslavia. The points are as follows:

1. Comprehensive maintenance of sanctions against Serbia with tightened checks on the Danube waterway and the overland borders with neighboring countries.

2. Military safeguarding of the aid convoys, with the Germans only being able to provide logistical support.

3. The necessity of monitoring heavy weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

4. In the case of humanitarian aid, attempts should be made not to uproot people, but to provide aid locally.

5. The compilation of a register of those responsible for human rights violations.

6. The establishment of an international court of justice that pursues human rights violations.

7. The disbanding of all camps and the return of people to their homes.

8. The exclusion of what remains of Yugoslavia from international organizations.

9. The downgrading of all embassies in Belgrade to the status of general consulates, but not the breaking of diplomatic relations.

10. The introduction of quotas for the distribution of refugees to various host countries.

EC To Work To 'Extinguish' Yugoslavia's UN Seat

LD2608165192 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1611 GMT 26 Aug 92

[By Sarah Womack, PRESS ASSOCIATION political staff]

[Text] Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd today told Serbian leaders that EC member states would "work to extinguish the Yugoslav seat at the United Nations" because of increasing violence in the former republic. Mr. Hurd, in a speech to a closed session of the international peace conference on former Yugoslavia held in London, said that until there was progress, the UN sanctions regime against Serbia would remain in force. "We shall work for its strict enforcement and, if necessary, strengthening. We shall also work to extinguish the Yugoslav seat at the UN."

Mr. Hurd said: "The community and its member states strongly condemn the continuing violence. No party to the conflict is blameless. But the greatest responsibility

falls on the Serbian leadership and on the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia." He deplored the Bosnian Serbs' attempt to expel forcibly 25,000 people from Bihac—which he described as the latest in a long line of such expulsions. Such aggressive behaviour was contrary to international humanitarian law, and in particular the Geneva conventions. Mr. Hurd declared: "We shall take careful note of the perpetrators of these criminal acts and shall do all we can to bring them to account. Suffering in the former Yugoslavia is not some act of God, it is a direct result of blatant aggression and the failure of the leaders principally concerned to agree how their people should live together."

He conceded that there were "real limits" on what outsiders could do. "Ancient hatreds are not easily soothed by outsiders. Political leaders are not necessarily in full command of local warlords." But he added that the community was conscious of the extent to which Yugoslavia was a European problem. "The community and its member states will not accept that Bosnia can be partitioned by force," he insisted. "We must work for an early cease-fire and for progress on a political solution based on respect of the existing frontiers and on a political arrangement which satisfies all three ethnic communities."

Serreqi: 'Legitmate' Kosovars Should Decide Fate

AU2608155492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Franko Egro telephone report from London]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The second session of the Conference on Yugoslavia was held this morning without the presence of the reporters.

Speaking about the Yugoslav crisis, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, who heads the Albanian delegation, addressed the Kosovar question. He said that the peoples who once formed the Yugoslav Federation have now created their own states. Under these conditions, questions naturally arise: What will be done with Albanians of Kosovo, Macedonia, and former Yugoslavia in general? What will be done in the sense that with regard to the number of inhabitants, Albanians are listed third in the former Yugoslavia? The actions of Serbian nationalism should remind everyone of the consequences arising from an indifferent attitude on the part of Europe, a situation that gives Serbia a free hand. Kosovo has never been a part of Serbia. It is sufficient to read the constitution of the former Yugoslavia and its special articles to understand that the autonomous socialist province of Kosovo was a special constitutional unit of the former Yugoslav state. Through the mechanism of rotation, Kosovo took [words indistinct] as all the other federative units. Kosovo had its own representatives in the federal parliament and in all federative bodies. Kosovo had its own constitution and constitutional court. Its territory cannot be changed except through a decision by its own parliament. This important institution has the authority to compile and approve laws, proclaim [word indistinct], etc.

I will leave it to you, honored colleagues, to draft the proper conclusions yourselves, Mr. Serreqi continued. Broad-scale repression continues to prevail in Kosovo at present. Through nonconstitutional acts performed by the Serbian side, the situation in Kosovo is completely paralyzed. The peaceful actions of Kosovo Albanians, which are so much supported by the international community, are doubted. It is the duty of the London conference to restore the lost [word indistinct] through suitable schemes for solutions to the problems.

The Albanian delegation has come to London to contribute to finding a solution that is fair and acceptable to all. In this framework, it should not be blindly accepted by the Albanians of Kosovo. Albania has no mandate for their representation, nor does Serbia. Only they, the legitimate representatives of the Kosovo Albanians, can decide. In Helsinki last month, the chairmen of the states and governments asked Belgrade to stop repression in Kosovo and engage in a serious dialogue with the legitimate representatives of Kosovo in the presence of a third party. That is why including Kosovo in the program of talks on former Yugoslavia will positively contribute to eliminating the violence. The location of [word indistinct] special group in Kosovo is the first necessary step to continue in the right direction.

Mr. Serreqi continued, saying that the Kosovar people have not approved the second chapter of the convent on the UN Peace Conference. Kosovars have made it clear that this is unsuitable for correct solution of the Kosovar issue. He said that Albania, for its part, has made clear that it will accept what is acceptable for Kosovo. The institutionalization of dialogue will be the only means to control a situation that is increasingly deteriorating with each passing day in this region. Kosovo should not be treated as a case of abuse of human rights, no matter how great they are, Serreqi concluded. Neither is Kosovo a case of minority, that is why every solution in this framework will not be accepted.

German Reporter Describes Embargo Violations

AU2508141392

[Editorial report] Mainz ZDF Television Network in German at 1900 GMT on 24 August, on its "Auslandsjournal" program, carries a live interview with ZDF journalist Christoph Maria Froehder, who was recently arrested by Serbian police together with cameraman Hermann Wohlberg, while filming a report on violations of the UN embargo against the FRY. Wohlberg is still in prison in Zajecar and Froehder was expelled from the country. Even though Serbian police confiscated some of his films, he brought back enough to compile a video report on the violations. This report is inserted in the middle of the interview.

Moderator Rolf Pfluecke first asks Froehder whether the Serbian charge against Wohlberg, namely that he resisted arrest, is true. Froehder answers: "This is complete nonsense. Hermann Wohlberg did not have any opportunity to resist in any way. We were attacked by eight Serbs, four of them in uniform, four in plain clothes. All of them were built like battleships. It would have been a joke if we, who are both rather slight, had resisted at this moment." Froehder assumes that "in order to get out of this rather unpleasant situation, some accusations had to be found to level against people who had been treated rather badly, in order to save face in some way."

There follows Froehder's video report illustrating violations of the embargo at the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border.

In the report Froehder points out that effective control of the embargo on the Danube is prevented by the geographical situation—the border between the countries is right in the middle of the river—and by the large amount of transit traffic. "The UN embargo cannot be implemented in practice, because the captains avoid any inspection by changing course slightly to get into neighboring territorial waters." The harbormaster of Calafat in Romania is asked what the ships are carrying. He says: "Mineral substances, ore, coal, machinery, as well as automobiles and passengers." He notes that there are no specific orders by the government and the UN Security Council for preventing any violations of the embargo.

Subsequently, Froehder describes one particular violation. A Ukrainian tanker filled its tanks on the Romanian side. Then it sailed into Bulgarian waters right under the noses of the customs inspectors.

Some weeks ago, two tankers of an Austrian shipping company were stopped, the report continues. Their destination was Serbia, too. Froehder notes that the television team visited them, "since the Romanians wanted to demonstrate how correctly their authorities are acting." Although the Austrian crew refused to give an interview, Froehder reports that they said that Serbian ships visit a Bulgarian factory on the other river bank several times a week. Their destination reportedly is Bosnia-Hercegovina, "even though this region cannot be reached via the Danube. Of course, this is also known in the harbormaster's office. But his inspection equipment is limited to an old radio and two telephones among seven officials."

The harbormaster says that "effective controls would be possible only in that short stretch of the river where the Danube flows exclusively through Romanian territory."

Froehder points out that another problem is the number of passenger ships from the CIS. "According to Romanian customs officials, they are regularly smuggling high-tech equipment to Serbia. To disguise their precise origin, most ships still fly the old Soviet flag."

One Romanian customs official shows Froehder a dossier of suspicious cargo documents. "According to one of the documents, low-quality Romanian crude oil was exported to Austria. The customer was a British group of companies." Interviewing the official, the reporter says: "The next document shows that an Austrian ship took gasoline to the Netherlands. Is this not actually another violation of the embargo?"

The official answers: "Look, if the cargo documents say that the cargo is going to Austria, the Netherlands, or to some other place, we have to accept them. This simply has to be okayed, whether or not it is logical. We are not responsible. The violations of the embargo are being planned by others."

The reporter continues by saying that "all littoral states turn a blind eye if they can earn some money. Ships that we observed in Romania were in Belgrade three days later and made deliveries to a refinery."

It is pointed out that bribes are being paid at the border checkpoints. "Almost all embargoed goods can be transported to Serbia if the hand-out to the customs officials is high enough. Trucks we followed whose drivers had hand-written Bosnia-Hercegovina as their destination promptly drove toward Belgrade. However, the film evidence we had of this was impounded by the Serbian intelligence service."

After this video report there follows the second part of the live interview with Christoph Maria Froehder. Pfluecke asks him about the material that was confiscated by the Serbs.

Froehder says: "We followed several trucks from the Bulgarian border whose drivers had claimed that their destination was Bosnia- Hercegovina. On the highway there is a very important crossroads, where one has to go southwest if one really wants to go to Bosnia-Hercegovina. All the trucks that we had noted down before, which had been pointed out to us by the Bulgarian customs officials, promptly went in the direction of Belgrade.

"In Belgrade we saw two ships—one Soviet ship, which unloaded steel in the port, and a ship from Ukraine, which we had already seen and which had loaded oil, and then unloaded it at a refinery about 15 km before Belgrade."

Asked whether the Yugoslavs reacted so brutally because the reporters were Germans or because of their filming, Froehder says: "I think it was a mixture of both. First of all, they cannot deal with journalists at all. This became quite clear, because I repeatedly tried to mediate, simply to create a situation in which one could discuss matters sensibly. This was simply impossible. Either I did not get any answer at all or they reacted in a very rude way, with physical threats, or violence.

"Second, of course, the Germans are probably the number one scapegoat for them at the moment. We were told this very clearly. The name Genscher was mentioned repeatedly. Obviously, this name is the symbol of the Germans' friendship with the Croats. I think that

they were simply happy to have two German journalists so that they could let off some steam."

When asked about his impression of the embargo, Froehder says: "I think that the embargo is an absolute joke. The embargo cannot be enforced at all in a transit country such as Yugoslavia remains. Either one has to find another way of influencing the Serbs by political means or one really has to cordon off the entire country and say: No transit traffic will be permitted until this civil war and this massacre of Croats and Muslims is stopped."

Pfluecke then asks about the methods of the sanction busters, whether they bribe the customs officials at the borders. Froehder says: "We saw this repeatedly. No one ever even denied this. I myself saw someone counting dollars. We could not film this, because this was on the Yugoslav side, and the Yugoslav customs officials were not willing to cooperate with us at that time. Later on, we took some photographs, which, unfortunately, were also confiscated. Bundles of dollars changed hands."

In conclusion, Pfluecke discusses the use of the London conference, Froehder says that "if the embargo is tightened only superficially, this is useless. I can only imagine putting European customs officials at all Yugoslav—that is, Serbian—borders and that these officials, supported by the United Nations, check the trucks individually and see whether they contain embargoed goods. In addition, if the embargo is to be enforced, I would advocate putting a stop to transit traffic."

Serreqi Comments on Conference on Yugoslavia

AU2508184192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi by Iliaz Spahiu; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] An Albanian delegation headed by Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi departs today to participate in the London conference on the former Yugoslavia. International Radio reporter Iliaz Spahiu interviewed Mr. Serreqi. Let us listen to this interview:

[Spahiu] How would you define the importance of this conference, especially on the Albanian question?

[Serreqi] The participation of the Albanian Government in the London conference is undoubtedly a very important event. This conference, which will be held in London, will be attended by many countries and will deal with the crisis in the region, especially the problem of Kosovo. I would say that now, when the CSCE's principles are unanimously accepted, political mentalities have changed. This means that all participants, especially us, have reason to hope that this conference will treat the problem differently from that of (?80) years ago.

The Albanian delegation will present the viewpoints of the Albanian democratic government concerning the crisis and suggest constructive ways for an acceptable solution to the situation, but in no way pretends to have a mandate to say the last word on the question, and especially on that of Kosovo. The Serbian representatives have even less right to speak and give a final solution to this problem. The only legitimate representative that has the right to have the last say on the Kosovo issue is the legitimate representative of the Kosovars.

The Albanian Government has repeatedly stated that it has no territorial pretensions and is against the violent and one-sided change of borders. Moreover, the Albanian Government accepts that the Yugoslav Federation is now completely disintegrated. All the federal friendships of this federation should be considered. The Albanian Government does not accept that the problem of Kosovo is lowered to the level of minorities and human rights. Discussions will begin on this basis. The Albanian Government will suggest its own solutions on this basis. At the same time, the Albanian Government is of the opinion that the dialogue, which is desired and suggested now between the interested sides under the care of a third party, can start on this basis.

[Spahiu] Is there coordination between the Albanian Government's attitude and representatives of the Republic of Kosovo?

[Serreqi] We have always considered the national question as a pan-Albanian question. No institution, no ministry—be it the Foreign Ministry of the Albanian democratic government—pretends or thinks that it has the right, opportunity, or mandate to solve and treat only this question. As I previously mentioned, Kosovo's legitimate representatives will have their last say in the question of Kosovo. Our ministry has regular and continuous contacts with representatives of the Kosovo people, government, and parliament, and coordinates and harmonizes on opinions and diplomatic steps. In this direction, and especially in preparing for the London conference, these contacts have been often and fruitful and will continue during the conference. Besides these contacts, we have developed a very intensive activity during this period. We have contacted participants of the conference, along with the EC, and have presented our viewpoints and made our attitude clear to them, so that they properly understand the way in which we treat this problem.

Foreign Ministry Sends Protest To Greek Embassy

AU2408152992 Tirana ATA in English 1216 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Tirana, August 24 (ATA)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania presented a note of protest to the Greek Embassy in Tirana, which says among others:

The Government of the Republic of Albania demands from the Government of the Greek Republic to come out with an open public statement making clear that the statement of the Minister of Presidency, Kouvelas was uncontrolled and not authorized, that the Greek Government dissociates itself completely from territorial claims towards Albania and that it will not allow official allusions in this direction with the terms "North Epirus" or "Northepirotes" and that it will not tolerate any non-government organization to influence in disrupting the Greek-Albanian relations, voicing claims not justifiable either by history or by the actual reality. Such a statement would show that the Greek Government wants good relations between Greece and Albania and that this would be an expression of its good will to further promote them.

Dobrev Meets Russian Deputy Foreign Minister

AU2508195692 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 25 (BTA)—Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev held consultations with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, the office of the spokesperson for the Foreign Ministry told BTA.

The deputy foreign ministers discussed the two countries' positions on major items on the agenda of the 47th session of the UN General Assembly.

Deputy Foreign Minister Departs for Moldova

AU2508162492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] A Bulgarian delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Ikonomov departed today on a two-day working visit to Moldova at the invitation of the Moldovan Foreign Ministry.

Finance Minister Kostov Questioned on Foreign Debt

AU2608081192 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 20 Aug 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Bulgarian Finance Minister Ivan Kostov by Kostantsa Ancheva; place and date not given: "Chance for Reform Lies in Rate of Development of Economic Initiative"]

[Excerpts] [Ancheva] What is the reason for the government's reservations about a debt for equity swap in favor of the creditor banks?

[Kostov] The Bulgarian Government is being very careful in drafting a clause on a debt for equity swap in our future agreement with the creditor banks. In the new expanded agreement that we have submitted to one group of banks we propose a clause on exchanging debt for equity. This, however, does not make us any less careful, because we consider that the question can only be settled in the context of an all-embracing, one-off agreement on reducing the debt and servicing it, in which a reduced debt recorded in an appropriate document serves as an instrument entitling the bank in question or an investor in Bulgaria to acquire property. In other words, first we must have the agreement, then an exchange may take place.

[Ancheva] A lobby has formed in parliament that is demanding a softer position on foreign debt and an immediate resumption of interest and capital payments. What is your view on this?

[Kostov] I do not know what group is being formed in parliament, but if anyone claims that Bulgaria can pay interest and capital, I would only say that he is incompetent, because this is impossible. I do not believe that anyone would claim such a thing. Servicing the interest and the capital relating to our credits involves a gigantic sum of money that our country cannot afford at present. Anyone who wants Bulgaria to do this is sentencing our country to certain disaster. Accordingly, I will listen with attention and amazement to such voices, if indeed they do propose this.

[Ancheva] Nevertheless, Bulgaria modified some of its views when it proposed making foreign debt interest payments of the order of $70 to 80 million. Has this money been earmarked in the budget and, if not, how will it be provided?

[Kostov] It is true that Bulgaria has taken steps to accommodate the creditor banks by agreeing to start paying interest—overdue interest first and foremost, but maybe also some current interest. Naturally, these interest payments are reduced within the framework of the reduction that we foresee will form part of our proposed extended agreement. These amounts have not been provided in the 1992 budget. However, if we do manage to sign an interim agreement they will be paid, and the payment will be made when the necessary money has been provided. There are two ways of doing this: Either we can directly increase the budget deficit, for example by obtaining an internal credit from the bank and using the money to purchase the $70-80 million required, or we can borrow this money from the State Fund for Reconstruction and Development, in which case the money will again pass through the budget and be accounted for as an increase in the budget deficit. We have to do it like this because the country has no other money available. This is how this money will be provided. [passage omitted]

[Ancheva] Why is it difficult to reach agreement with certain creditor banks?

[Kostov] The main reason we are finding it difficult to sign agreements with the Paris Club group of banks is that they do not understand our position. In fact, we are convinced that the only problems remaining are with Spain and the Netherlands. They find it difficult to accept the Bulgarian side's explanation that the government cannot accept as a state debt debts incurred by commercial banks partially owned by the state. On the other hand, they find it difficult to understand the clause in the Constitution under which agreements for the Bulgarian Government to take over a debt from the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank must be ratified by parliament. This has caused a certain distrust that in my view is the main reason for the holdup in the negotiations. We held serious negotiations with the Netherlands representative and the Netherlands ambassador here—Mr. Posthumus and Mrs. Meertins. They are executive directors on the board of the fund and the bank, and I think that we will make an attempt to overcome our difficulties with the Netherlands. Regarding the other countries, I believe that we can sign agreements with them, although they claim that this "ploy" of parliament having to ratify agreements only exists in the United

States. Only there does the Congress monitor the government's financial actions to the extent that parliament does in Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

[Ancheva] I had an argument with a colleague over whether you are protecting the government or whether the government is protecting you. My colleague asserts that the government must fall because it has only one strong minister—the minister of finance. What is your comment on this view?

[Kostov] This is completely untrue. I am a man who speaks nothing but the truth. I have never told lies since my childhood. For me, lying is one of the greatest sins. I try to tell the truth as I see it. The government does not have one strong minister. It has a group of strong ministers—people who make a large contribution to the cabinet's work. This government and these people support me. This is the truth, if we pose the question like this. By the word "support" I understand that they try to defend me against the attacks that it is evidently my duty to endure. On the other hand—and this is much more serious and important—they are people who form a buttress for the government's policy, share the government's responsibilities, and do not celebrate national holidays, preferring to work on the vitally important issues. Among them, I must single out one man who has helped me the most, although it was not his duty to do so. I refer to Svetoslav Luchnikov, who sacrificed his last weekend to work with me on the tax reform, and will do the same next weekend. Thus, my answer is that the government has a group of serious and strong people who fully understand the seriousness of our situation and who, I would add, have confidence in their strength as well.

[Ancheva] Does this mean that you do not regard the changes envisaged for September as being too serious, and that the predictions made by Ahmed Dogan, Dimitur Ludzhev, and others will not come true?

[Kostov] I do not see any problems, nor do I see from where they may come. [passage omitted]

Poll Shows Preference for Cabinet Over Podkrepa

AU2008201092 Sofia BTA in English 1701 GMT 20 Aug 92

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—For the time being Filip Dimitrov's cabinet outscores the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, to judge from the results of a telephone poll commissioned by the Maritsa Press Group in Plovdiv (Bulgaria's second largest town). The results of this opinion poll along with some comments and analysis were published by the MARITSA newspaper.

The conflict between the government and this trade union amalgamation can be traced back to the cabinet's first days in office, even before the National Council for Social Partnership was set up. The Podkrepa Labor Confederation and especially its leader Dr. Konstantin Trenchev insisted on a replacement of the team of government economics ministers. In May, six months after the cabinet was formed, Industry Minister Ivan Pushkarov was relieved of his post and succeeded by Mr. Rumen Bikov, known for his sympathies with Podkrepa. The conflict between the cabinet and Podkrepa's leadership culminated during the public transport strike in Sofia in July when Sofianites were forced to walk for five days as the municipality adamantly refused to raise drivers' wages.

The survey conducted by the Maritsa Press Group found that 33.5 percent of the respondents support the stand of the government, 20 percent approve of Podkrepa's actions and another 20 percent approve neither. The rest said they don't know.

The electorate of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces is divided between its political sympathies with the government it voted for and the need to uphold their social interests against the government, the newspaper writes. The government is mainly backed by non-unionists, part of the unemployed and a considerable number of members of the rival Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB). Trade union members, Podkrepa members in particular, approve the attacks on the government.

In fact, both the government and Podkrepa are nothing but lobbies of powerful local and foreign economic and political groups and interests, the analysis reads. The government used Sofianites' discontent with the public transport strike not to defend their rights but rather to teach the trade unions a lesson. The trade unions, for their part, used the drivers' demands as a pretext to oppose the government.

Nevertheless, gaining some experience in coping with strikes and abruptly breaking off its contacts with Podkrepa, the government did not become a trade-union hostage as certain trade union leaders had predicted, the newspaper concludes.

Kabul Embassy Closes; 'Dangerous Situation' Cited

LD2508121992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] All staff from the Czechoslovak Embassy and the trade section in Afghanistan left Kabul yesterday and arrived safely in the Pakistani capital, Islamabad. They thus reacted to the dangerous situation that has risen in Afghanistan since fundamentalist leader Golboddin Hekmatyar called for a holy war to deal the last blow to the former communist militia.

According to Zdenek Zikmund, federal Foreign Ministry spokesman, the Czechoslovak citizens will continue their journey to Czechoslovakia. Until the critical security situation is resolved, diplomatic contacts with Afghanistan will be managed by (Zdenek Korda), an official of the CSFR diplomatic mission in Islamabad.

Meciar Terms Talks With Klaus 'Consultative'

LD2508210392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Representations of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] will meet in Brno at 1500 tomorrow. Both Vaclav Klaus, [ODS chairman] and Michal Kovac [HZDS deputy chairman] confirmed this report in the Czechoslovak Television "Newsreel" program today. Our editors Magda Pospisilova and Ludmila Bulakova put a few questions to HZDS chairman Vladimir Meciar in the Slovak parliament.

[Editor] Mr. Prime Minister, the talks between the ODS and the HZDS are supposed to be held in Brno tomorrow. Is this true?

[Meciar] These talks will be held. It has been agreed that I and Mr. Klaus will first have private talks; later there will be a bigger group, and yet more people will take part then. It will not be talks between political representations as before; it will be merely a consultative meeting where we will explain our positions to each other. No decisions will be made.

[Editor] Mr. Prime Minister, what was the key factor that prompted you to decide to meet the ODS?

[Meciar] This decision was suggested as a part of our agenda with the premise that we are to agree other necessary matters. Naturally, the situation in which we refused to talk about our further agenda on the level of delegations is the situation that presents a problem for both sides. This is why we agreed that the two chairmen should meet and that they should explain to each other where the essence of the disputes lies, because letters cannot reveal everything, of course, and we must explain these issues to each other.

[Editor] Does this mean that the apology you demanded has materialised, or don't you insist on it any longer?

[Meciar] This is not a question of apology. This is a question of practical measures. It would be superfluous if we were to keep meeting and signing agreements that would not be fulfilled. It would be just as superfluous if we kept adopting other policies that would simply cancel our previous policies.

Our agreements are on two levels. The first is the one that gets published, while the second is an agreement reached on a personal level about who will make certain moves in a short space of time and what moves these will be. The failure to fulfil them is generating serious worries for both of us. I perceive the development in Bohemia as one ridden with contradictions. It is a development that is not too clear to many citizens of the Slovak Republic because all media are discussing what is being done in Slovakia. Here they are nitpicking, while they cannot see the woods for the trees in their own land. I can comprehend the complexity of the ODS position, too. We do not intend to make its position even more difficult. The meeting of the delegations will therefore be held only when these preliminary conditions are resolved. And they have not yet been resolved. [end recording]

According to preliminary information, the meeting will take place in Tugendhat Villa, where the ODS and HZDS representatives first met after the June elections.

Politicians React To Czech-Slovak Union Draft

AU2508123092 Prague CSTK in English 1957 GMT 21 Aug 92

[Text] Commenting on the draft agreement between the Czech and Slovak Republics which provides for the formation of a Czech-Slovak union, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Miroslav Macek (ODS—Civic Democratic Party) today told CSTK that he regards as the best solution drafting dozens of standard agreements between two states (the Czech and Slovak Republics) that would cover all areas.

According to Macek, the draft does not deal with economic, budgetary and monetary issues. He described as very dangerous Paragraph No. 28 of the draft which said that decisions by state bodies of one republic are recognised on the territory of the other republic without any further negotiations. Macek was also surprised at dual citizenship (Czech and Slovak) which the draft admits.

Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Milan Cic (HZDS—Movement For a Democratic Slovakia) could not say any details on the draft. He said he had not worked on it and does not know the original.

Czechoslovak Parliament First Deputy Chairman Filip Sedivy (ODS) described the draft as a compilation of various international norms evidently influenced by Maastricht-type agreements and the 1983 Vienna convention. "It is possible to discuss the draft, but there would be so many fundamental reservations that not much would remain from the original document",

Sedivy said on the possibility that the ODS and the HZDS would hold talks on the draft.

Slovak Premier and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar today denied that the HZDS worked out the draft agreement on a Czech-Slovak union. Asked by journalists who did it, he said he knew but would not tell anyone. He said there are government experts who take a stand on a possible form of co-existence between Czechs and Slovaks.

According to Meciar, the ODS must fulfill all commitments which have been agreed upon and only then another round of the ODS-HZDS talks can discuss the draft.

Radim Valencik, adviser to the KSCM [Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia] chairman and Czechoslovak parliamentarian, today described the draft as an impulse towards seeking an acceptable compromise. However, he missed in the draft the economic part, which is, as he said, of key importance.

The chairman of the LSU [Liberal Social Union], Frantisek Trnka, today said the LSU agrees with the general concept of the draft agreement, but no serious stands can as yet be taken as the wording of the draft must be thoroughly examined.

Klaus on Opposition Discussions With HZDS

LD2608104292 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1650 GMT 25 Aug 92

["Regular" interview Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Katerina Kasparova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kasparova] The number one internal political event is the refusal of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]—which, to a certain extent, denied its present responsive policies—as to the talks on the division of the Federation. Does this mean, Mr. Prime Minister, that the Czech side will have to discuss in greater detail other ways of division than an agreement on the federal level?

[Klaus] I am not giving up on an agreement because it would be the best method, the most advantageous for all of us. If I say all of us, I mean truly all—from As to Michalovce. But I still think that the meeting will take place, and what is involved is whether it will take place at the same hour and the same place it was supposed to be held, but [passage indistinct] will take place because both sides know that we have to talk.

[Kasparova] In the current situation, it is very important that the Czech Government coalition be united on these questions. In this sense, are you satisfied with the course of yesterday's meeting of the chairmen of the four coalition parties?

[Klaus] I am absolutely happy with it, and I think that the chairmen of the other coalition parties are also equally absolutely happy with it. As far as this is concerned, there is not the slightest difference between us. The difference is rather in the matters of the constitution because we know that the People's Party or the Christian Democratic Union played a bit more on the idea of the land setup than the remaining three coalition parties. There are debates on it between us that we also led during the meeting on the night of 24 August, but as to the general attitude to the problems of Slovakia and the general attitudes towards the Czech Republic, there is no gap, and it is of no use to anyone to look for one.

[Kasparova] Yesterday, representatives of the Liberal Social Union [LSU] and Czechoslovak Social Democracy met and noted at their meeting that HZDS does not want a common state and that this must be acknowledged. To quote LSU chairman Mr. Frantisek Trnka, they also said that it is not possible to continue maintaining their viewpoints. Do you think that this can strengthen the position of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] in other contacts with the Slovak side and that it can improve the overall situation on the Czech political scene?

[Klaus] From the very beginning I did not accept interpretations of some journalists saying that the talks between the HZDS and Czech opposition parties represented an attempt at some alliance behind the back of the ODS. Indeed, I never accepted that. I was being accused of being too naive and of underestimating this danger, but I never accepted this interpretation. Rather, I have always thought that the HZDS is seeking, through this form as well, de facto, certain partners or an agreement on the basic questions that they, that is, the HZDS, are concerned about. The HZDS today has no dominant program for which it would want to gather support, it has different ideas on economic reform, a different social policy, different matters of this type. The current HZDS program is the question of state setup, and I believe that the HZDS debates with these parties contribute toward clarification of the situation that the Czech opposition sometimes does not want to accept realistically.

[Kasparova] The division of the Federation will most likely will be the topic of regular talks with yourself on Czech Radio's Radiojournal for a long time to come. Today we could mention, for example, whether this division will be reflected in natural economic links, whether we are not merely talking about division de jure?

[Klaus] Well, natural economic links are influenced by these very talks. They have been influenced by all that has been happening for the past two and a half years, so that, naturally, the actual economic relations will be influenced, whether we wish it or not. Our task is to ensure that the influence is not very negative, that natural links are not torn because interlinkage of industry in our country and interlinkage of the relations between supply and demand is very high, and both sides would lose out if this is substantially impaired. The task

is, and it is being worked on, to prepare partial agreements, an entire network of agreements between the Czech and the Slovak Republics. We are widely discussing the questions of customs unions and so on.

[Kasparova] How does this tally with the fact that the second wave of coupon privatization will take place in both republics separately?

[Klaus] The second wave of coupon privatization, in this sense, presents no problem. The first wave could also have been conducted separately, in a certain sense, anyway. The majority of the people used their monthly points shares to buy companies that were within their reach, which they knew, whose names they knew. That is how the purchase of shares was conducted in the individual republics. So, the first round could have been conducted in a different way if it had been apparent a year ago what everything would look like today. But that was not apparent.

[Kasparova] We have reached the economic sphere. Do you not think the attempt to prolong the agony of the Federation is connected with the economic awakening of the Slovak representatives, particularly with regard to the assumed attitude of the IMF, the World Bank, and so on?

[Klaus] I have said from the very beginning that the economic policy of Slovakia will be much more rational—and that is closer to what has been so far—than what might ensue from certain speeches by some Slovak representatives. I have reiterated this thought from the very beginning and I continue to be convinced of it. The very way that the Slovak Government has been composed indicates that, truly, the intention, particularly in the figure of the finance minister, was to maintain sober politics. This does not surprise me that much. Slovak economist Mr. Hvezdon Koctuch's well-known trip to America and his sudden utterance of sentences that we have never heard from him before—and, on the contrary, which we told him and he argued with—is kind of a rarity, but I do not really know. I have thought from the very onset that the economic policy of Slovakia will be and is predetermined by so many external things. I do not mean only foreign political ones, but also internal political ones that simply are no longer in the hands of the government. The government's maneuvering space is much smaller than the government thinks, and, in particular, it is smaller than some people thought before they were in the government.

LSU To Defend 'Czech National Interests'

LD2608093592 Prague CSTK in English 1632 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Prague Aug 25 (CSTK)—The Czech opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU) is compelled after its Monday [24 August] meeting with HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] representatives to reassess its attitude towards Czecho-Slovakia's constitutional arrangement and will defend Czech national interests, LSU Chairman Frantisek Trnka said today.

At the meeting, HZDS representatives clearly confirmed they insist on Slovakia being a subject of international law, and said that only a confederation or some form of union is acceptable.

"We thought before that the Slovak side is willing to negotiate a closer form of coexistence. Obviously something has happened in Slovakia. It means a shift in their opinions", said Trnka at a press conference. He added that the LSU insists that only the people can decide on the country's possible division.

LSU Vice-Chairman Ladislav Dvorak said "we shall seek to maintain a common state of Czechs and Slovaks...apart from this we want to work out a realistic Czech policy and create conditions for a most appropriate possible agreement between the Slovak and Czech republics, but, in this respect we shall defend Czech national interests".

The LSU agrees with ODS [Civic Democratic Party] Chairman and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus that no common state can be formed from two subjects of international law, but the LSU thinks the ODS "is not very well defending Czech national interests", Dvorak said.

Mandatory Oath Added to Slovak Constitution

AU2608075792 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Aug 92 p 2

[Julius Gembicky commentary: "If You Lose Your Mandate, Dial 159!"]

[Text] At 1708 yesterday the Slovak National Council [SNR] Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee accepted a proposal from Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to add a new article to the concluding provisions of the Slovak Republic Constitution. This authoritative committee—composed of 17 deputies, nine of whom represent the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]—assigned the new article No. 159. It obliges SNR deputies to take an oath on the Slovak Constitution. If a deputy refuses to take the oath or takes it with reservations, he will forfeit his right to his mandate.

What does this decision mean? First and foremost, it means that—after the Slovak constitution has been approved by a three-fifths majority and after it has come into effect by being published in the Legal Gazette—SNR deputies will be obliged to take their second oath. This time, they will take their oath in accordance with the proposed wording contained in Article 73, Section 1: "I swear, on my honor and conscience, my allegiance to the Slovak Republic. I will fulfill my duty in the interest of the people. I will observe the Constitution and other laws, and will work to ensure that they come into effect."

At the moment, it is not known how the opposition deputies in the Slovak parliament will react to this situation. In particular, the deputies from the Christian Democratic Movement, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles, and—as the case may be—the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]. Perhaps they will decide to vote against the Slovak Constitution when it is debated; however, the HZDS along with the Slovak National Party and Ivan Hudec, who recently resigned from the SDL deputies club and who supports adoption of the constitution as an independent, have 90 votes altogether—that is, the three-fifths majority necessary for its approval.

Obviously, after the constitution comes into effect, they will have no other choice but to take the second oath. If the opposition deputies clubs decided to boycott this act, they would forfeit their mandates. It is impossible to discount the possibility that they could react by taking part in a mass walkout from parliament to protest the obligatory second oath.

It is hard to imagine that the SNR would decide to call new elections after a walkout by part of the opposition. Another possibility is more likely—that is, the SNR would meet in a smaller caucus. The opposition would be excluded from political life, however. Therefore, it is possible to assume that, despite their objections to the adoption of the Slovak constitution and to the wording of the aforementioned article, they would comply with the new oath.

SDL, SDSS Agree To Coordinate Policies

LD2608091392 Prague CSTK in English
1521 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Bratislava Aug 25 (CSTK)—The Democratic Left Party (SDL, former Slovak Communist Party) and the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (SDSS) concluded an agreement today on coordinating their policies.

"In contrast to the KSS '91 (Slovak Communist Party) and the Union of Communists of Slovakia, the SDL seeks to transform itself into a modern leftist party", SDSS Chairman Alexander Dubcek told CSTK.

At a joint press conference with the SDSS, SDL Chairman Peter Weiss said the agreement confirms the closeness of the programmes of the two parties and their common goals. Both Weiss and Dubcek said they concluded the agreement in the interests of pursuing a leftist and democratically orientated Slovak policy, and with regard to the political development in Slovakia after the June parliamentary elections.

Under the agreement, expert groups of both parties will cooperate in home and foreign policy, regional administration of cities and villages.

Referring to the calling off of a meeting between Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and his Czech counterpart Vaclav Klaus, scheduled on Thursday [27 August], Weiss said he was surprised that the conflict between the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] and the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] came so early. "Czech political representatives decided to speed up the partition of the federation", Weiss said. In an interview for CSTK he acknowledged that the HZDS had made tactical mistakes but he did not specify them.

Dubcek told CSTK he welcomed the HZDS initiative in proposing a Czech-Slovak union and will support it. He conceded that cooperation between the SDSS and the HZDS is possible.

Meciar Top Politician in Slovak Opinion Poll

LD2508144892 Prague CSTK in English
1141 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Bratislava Aug 25 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier and HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] chief Vladimir Meciar tops the scale of most trusted politicians in the Slovak Republic with a 50 per cent popularity rating, according to a poll of 1,149 people conducted by the Slovak Statistics Office July 29-August 6.

Following Meciar are Peter Weiss, first vice chair of the Slovak Parliament and chairman of the SDL [Democratic Left Party] (28 per cent), and Alexander Dubcek (15 per cent), chairman of the SDSS [Social Democratic Party in Slovakia]. Czech Premier and ODS [Civic Democratic Party] chairman Vaclav Klaus (15 per cent) and former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel (nine per cent) round out the top five.

A profile of the respondents shows that Meciar finds greatest favour among workers and people aged 25-29. Most of his supporters are concentrated in central Slovakia. Weiss gets his backing mainly from people in the 30-49 age group with at least a secondary school education. Residents of villages and the region of east Slovakia are his major bases.

The rest of the top ten is as follows: Jozef Prokes, SNS [Slovak National Party] chairman (8.5), Milan Knazko (8.4), Milan Cic (8.2), Rudolf Filkus (7.0) and Michal Kovac (5.0), the last four all HZDS.

Delegation To Propose 'Regional Arms Restriction'

LD2508153792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] At the Yugoslavia conference due to begin in London on 26 August, Hungary is to urge a regional arms restriction that could create a balance of power, on the one hand between the Yugoslav successor states, and on the other between the former Yugoslavia and the other states in the region. According to the leader of the Hungarian group of experts, this would mean disarmament in the case of Serbia; in the case of other states it would mean limited military development. Istvan Gyarmati said that according to Hungarian opinion, the solution of the national minority issues is an organic part of a general settlement, and the way to achieve this is by guaranteeing every kind and form of autonomy for the minorities.

Jeszenszky on London Conference, Romanian Relations

LD2608090292 Budapest MTI in English 1557 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—Miracles cannot be hoped for from the Yugoslavia conference in London but the event itself marks an advance in that delegates from neighbouring countries have also been invited, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told a press conference on Tuesday [25 August].

The minister, who will be heading a Hungarian delegation to the London conference, said the participants would have to find contractual forms for reducing the size of arsenals in the South Slav countries. In reply to the question of whether the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina might also be exposed to ethnic cleansing, Jeszenszky said he had confidence in the guarantees given by the Serbian leadership.

The foreign minister thought the political programmes held in Hungary over the past week, including the world meeting of Hungarians, had been successful. However, he mentioned that these events elicited rather unrealistic reactions not without ulterior motives in Romania. According to Jeszenszky, the various Hungarian statements showed a great sense of responsibility. This provides an opportunity to bring about better relations between Hungary and its neighbours.

The foreign minister called attention to the fact that certain individual remarks should not be mixed up with the official ones. He reported that he had met Romanian Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Gheorghe Tinca on Monday, and that they held talks in a good atmosphere. Tinca was very optimistic as regards the future of Romanian-Hungarian relations.

At the meeting, Jeszenszky again said that the Hungarian Government's policy as regards the minorities is in concert with basic European principles, with the ideas of minority representatives themselves, and serves the stability of the region. The Government wishes to have dialogue with all political groupings who have, or will have, a determining role in the policy of neighbouring countries.

It was announced that Jeszesnzky would visit Bratislava on September 2, at the invitation of the Slovak Government's minister in charge of international relations. Hungarian Minister of the Interior Peter Boross will travel to Romania in early September.

President Views National Position in Region

AU2508193492 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Aug 92 pp 1, 9

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Peter Nemeth and Andras Banki; place and date not given: "Interview with President of the Republic Arpad Goncz Before the National Holiday—The Country Is Functioning and This Is the Greatest Success of Politics"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [MAGYAR HIRLAP] In spite of all our problems and worries, it is correct to say that Hungary is an island of peace here in the East Central European region. However, what will happen to us and our environment if the nationalisms do not die down and the suspicions do not become muted?

[Goncz] This is the question of questions because, being aware of Ukrainian, Slovak, Romanian, and Serbian suspicions, it is hard to believe that this will ever turn into a real cooperation. Nevertheless, the thought and hope of cooperation has to be kept alive by all means. When heading toward the West, you do not feel that you come up against a border, but it certainly happens when heading toward the East. However, theaters and culture reach us from there, too, including the Romanian theater or Ukrainian and Russian artists. It is only the result of bad conditioning that cooperation with the East is undervalued. Hungary should have the same kind of undamaged halo toward the East as toward the West, and this is also what our economic relations require.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] One of the biggest problems Hungary is facing now is the fact that some people consider it to be in a crisis zone....

[Goncz] This was the most emphatic warning, this German decision that deemed us to be in a crisis zone. [reference to Germany's refusal to sell former East German weapons to Hungary] I was rather unhappy about it because, up till now, we managed to convince the world that, even though people were shooting each other 200 meters away from our borders, we had peace here and there was no crisis. We have to take this reality, suspicion, and reservation into consideration. It is not impossible to understand that it is hard to believe that a country, enclosed by three states in the process of disintegration, is itself not threatened by the danger of disintegration. This fact places increased responsibility on all

official and unofficial representatives of Hungarian foreign policy, including tourists or salesmen. We all have to prove that we are able to dismantle the old regime without domestic shocks in such a way that, in the meantime, we are able to set up a new system. The hysterics of the international environment and the region will not filter in to Hungary.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What is the Hungarian interest in this region and what kind of national policy can make this Hungarian interest prevail?

[Goncz] Hungary should not be a violator of peace in any respect; instead, it should by all means be a representative of East European equalization and cooperation, and I include the area of the former Soviet Union and the countries lying south, north, and west of Hungary. Our interest is that the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, and the Czechs and Slovaks settle their affairs with each other peacefully, without turning against each other, and find their prosperity this way. Ukraine's stability is a question of vital importance for us. What kind of natural ways of cooperation we will find with them is partly dependent on Ukrainian-Russian relations. By no means can we support deterioration. What we can support is the natural process of gaining or regaining national self-determination and that this take place without afflicting anyone else and without great shocks. Therefore, we must foster the European processes of integration so that the areas east of us may have increasingly close ties with the West. This way, we should be an area of mediation rather than conflict between the West and the East.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] How can our national policy help the Hungarians living as national minorities preserve their identity?

[Goncz] In this stormy transformation process, our primary goal is to support the physical survival of the Hungarians living beyond our borders and to preserve their national identity. In the past two years, we have witnessed the collapse of the Yalta, Helsinki and, practically, Versailles agreements. Everything is in flux, and it is only the external borders that have not been questioned by anyone because this would start such European processes that would have a much deeper effect than a change of internal borders. The Hungarian foreign policy's goal is an internationally ensured and controllable assertion of full human rights for Hungarians living beyond our borders. We are in the middle of a process of transformation that we have to watch carefully, influence it in a positive direction as much as possible, but we must not forcefully accelerate it by any means. The cornerstone of our national policy is to create a Hungary that is the pride, and the intellectual and spiritual center of Hungarians living anywhere in the world and that can be trusted and loved. [passage omitted]

Chinese Army Commander Arrives for Official Visit

LD2608081692 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—Colonel-General Chi Haotian, chief of staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, arrived in Budapest on Tuesday [25 August] for an official visit. He is meeting an invitation from Colonel-General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian Army.

During his five-day stay in Hungary, the Chinese chief of staff will hold talks in the Ministry of Defence, and at the headquarters of the Hungarian Army. He will visit Szekesfehervar (W Hungary), the headquarters of the land forces, and the air defence headquarters in Veszprem (W Hungary).

Customs Agreement Signed With Sweden

LD2608100192 Budapest MTI in English 1828 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Stockholm, August 25 (MTI)—Customs Brigadier General Mihaly Arnold, national commander of the Hungarian Customs and Excise Guards, signed an agreement on extensive cooperation between the Hungarian and Swedish Customs authorities, in Stockholm on Tuesday [25 August].

The document includes the exchange of confidential information between the customs offices, and the coordination of efforts against international drug traders. The agreement also makes it possible for Hungarian customs guards to familiarise themselves with the practical experiences of Swedish customs policy.

Sweden has signed similar agreements with nine countries to date. The Hungarian-Swedish customs agreement is the first in which the customs authorities of the two countries accept the obligation to mutually fulfil the collection of customs duties due, at the request of either side.

The agreement will come into force on January 1, 1993.

Government Requests Germany Reconsider Extradition

LD2408195192 Warsaw PAP in English 1805 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Bonn, Aug. 24—The Polish Government on Monday [24 August] protested against a decision by the German Federal Government to extradite to the United States four of the six Poles detained in prison in Germany since March on charges of illegal arms trading in the U.S.

The Polish Foreign Ministry, in a communique on Monday, noted that on the instructions of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, Deputy Foreign Minister Iwo Byczewski called in Franz Bertele, German Ambassador to Warsaw, to protest in the name of the Polish Government at the decision to extradite the four men. Byczewski informed Bertele of the shock and surprise of the Polish Government at the German decision, particularly in view of the personal request by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski with his German counterpart Klaus Kinkel for the six to be returned to Poland. Byczewski added that the Polish Government requested a reconsideration of the decision, and called for the suspension of all actions relating to extradition proceedings against the two remaining detainees. The German decision to agree to the U.S. request for the extradition of the four men was announced earlier today by the press spokesman of German Federal Justice Minister Matthias Weckerling. It is expected that a decision relating to the other two Poles will be taken in the next few days. The six were arrested in Frankfurt-am-Main on March 20, accused of having sought to negotiate an illegal sale of arms to Iraq, in contravention of the United Nations embargo. The extradition comes despite the fact that the six committed no crime under German law.

Walesa Accuses Sejm of 'Stupidity,' 'Treachery'

LD2608141192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 26 Aug 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa, who today gave an interview to the BBC and the New York NOWY DZIENNIK, described the manner in which the Sejm implemented the vetting resolution [on former security service collaborators] as stupidity, thickness, and treachery. If people come to the conclusion, the president said, that the entire elite is bad, before destroying it they should have had another one, otherwise you destroy your home and have nowhere to live. Poland should not have been left with suspicions and obscurities, with no leaders to carry out the reforms. According to Lech Walesa the ranks should be cleansed, but people who have sat quiet for 50 years cannot judge those who took up the struggle with communism, even if they fouled themselves in some way.

Prosecutor Warns Farmers' Self-Defense Union

LD2408215392 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—The Warsaw Provincial Prosecutor's Office filed a motion to the Warsaw Provincial Court to say that the Congress and the Presidium of the Farmers' Self-Defence Union conduct activity violating the law on the private farmers' unions and to obligate the union to adjust its activity to the binding legislation, press spokesman for the Justice Ministry Andrzej Cubala said Monday [24 August]. According to the Prosecutor's Office, resolutions on the protection of farms and land, adopted by the Self-Defence Congress and Presidium, and a resolution in which the Presidium of the Self-Defence obligates circles of this union to set up teams to prevent the confiscation of property of farmers not repaying credits by bailiffs and authorizes these teams to take radical steps against banks and bailiffs starting the confiscation, were passed in a faulty way. Besides, the implementation of the resolutions brought about the taking of steps violating law and the Polish Constitution. By thwarting the confiscation of property of farmers not repaying their credits and by blocking roads, the Self-Defence unionists violated the binding legislation, the union's statutes and the law on the private farmers' unions.

FSM Auto, Ursus Tractor Plants Continue Strikes

LD2608080592 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug. 25—Crews of the FSM small car factory in Tychy and the Warsaw tractor plant Ursus continued strike actions through Tuesday [25 August], while the central region of Solidarity trade union "Ziemia Radomska," announced a strike alert starting on September 2. The 35-days-old strike in Tychy is now continued by 3,800 persons plus workers who are not on strike but show up every day at the plant's gate to sign a list and get 100 thousand zlotys (less than 8 U.S. dollars) compensation for work stoppage. [passage omitted]

Poll on Leaders, Political, Economic Issues

92P20383A

[Editorial Report] Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian on 7 August 1992 on pages 4 and 5 publishes the results of a public opinion poll conducted at the beginning of August by students from Bucharest University. Some 1,819 persons were polled, both in Bucharest and in the provinces (the majority from urban areas). The respondents were asked nine questions:

1."How satisfied are you with the current political situation in Romania?" The general responses were:

—Very satisfied: 0.82 percent
—Quite satisfied: 7.92 percent
—Not too satisfied: 36.12 percent
—Not at all satisfied: 52.51 percent
—Do not know/No response: 2.53 percent

According to TINERETUL LIBER, the responses were grouped on the basis of age, sex, occupation, and level of education. The most dissatisfied age group consisted of adults (54.90 percent); men were more dissatisfied than women (56.58 percent compared to 48.64 percent); workers in the production sector were more dissatisfied than those in the services sector (54.61 percent compared to 49.64 percent); college-educated persons were more dissatisfied than those without a high-school education. These figures do not take into consideration those who are not too satisfied! If we add the responses of the latter group to the responses of those who are not at all satisfied, we easily exceed 90 percent! The 0.82 percent who said that they were very satisfied should give us food for thought. What must have been the dialogue between the elected officials and the voters during the past two years? The answer, friends, is blowing in the wind.

2. "Compare your standard of living during the Ceausescu period with your present standard of living." The responses were:

—Much higher: 2.75 percent
—Somewhat higher: 20.84 percent
—About the same: 22.87 percent
—Somewhat lower: 23.03 percent
—Much lower: 29.18 percent
—Do not know/No response: 1.32 percent

TINERETUL LIBER says, "As far as age groups are concerned, the youth were somewhat more satisfied with their present standard of living (1.63 percent 'much higher,' and 26.83 percent 'somewhat higher'); women were more satisfied than men (3.93 percent 'much higher' and 21.66 percent 'somewhat higher,' compared to 1.57 percent 'much higher' and 20.02 percent 'somewhat higher,' for men).

"Persons in the services sector (3.62 percent 'much higher' and 26.27 percent 'somewhat higher') were more satisfied than those in the production sector (2.28 percent 'much higher' and 20.23 percent 'somewhat higher'), and much more satisfied than persons who are unemployed—retirees, homemakers, jobless (2.55 percent 'much higher' and 15.71 percent 'somewhat higher'); persons with higher education were much more satisfied than those without a high-school education (4.68 percent 'much higher' and 23.15 percent 'somewhat higher,' compared to 2.14 percent and 16.67 percent).

"The largest response to the third choice, 'about the same,' came from women (25.94 percent), senior citizens (26.46 percent), persons in the production sector (23.64 percent), and those with higher education (26.11 percent). The responses 'somewhat lower' and 'much lower' were given by men (24.75 percent 'somewhat lower' and 31.83 percent 'much lower'), senior citizens (23.89 percent and 28.81 percent), the unemployed (22.08 percent and 34.39 percent), and persons without a high-school education (19.29 percent and 36.19 percent). These results, dear readers, speak for themselves."

3. "Are you in favor of using all means to support Bessarabia in the Dniester Region problem?" The responses were:

—Yes: 51.57 percent
—No: 15.56 percent
—Yes, but not militarily: 20.07 percent
—Other 'noes': 0.55 percent
—Do not know/No response: 11.71 percent

TINERETUL LIBER adds: "In this case, dear readers, we will let you judge for yourself."

4. "How do you think your standard of living will change during the coming year?" The responses were:

—Will improve a lot: 5.33 percent
—Will improve somewhat: 27.93 percent
—Will remain unchanged: 23.47 percent
—Will worsen somewhat: 19.68 percent
—Will worsen a lot: 13.08 percent
—Do not know/No response: 10.5 percent

TINERETUL LIBER adds: "Naturally, by age groups, the youth were the most optimistic (5.28 percent think that there will be a great improvement and 31.30 percent think that there will be some improvement); men were more optimistic than women (5.51 percent 'will improve a lot' and 29.47 percent 'will improve somewhat,' compared to 5.15 percent and 26.39 percent for women.)

"For persons in the services sector, the figures were 7.25 percent and 32.25 percent, compared to 3.92 percent and 27.94 percent in the production sector and 5.52 percent and 23.14 percent for the unemployed.

"By educational groups, the most optimistic were those with a college education (7.88 percent and 28.57 percent). The most pessimistic were senior citizens (19.20 percent think that there will be some improvement and 16.39 percent think that there will be a lot of improvement), as well as unemployed persons, including retirees,

homemakers, the jobless (18.26 percent and 17.83 percent), and persons without a high-school education (19.29 percent and 16.67 percent).

"It should be noted that not many of the persons questioned were convinced that developments related to their standard of living do not depend so much on them as on political changes for which they are waiting."

5. "What do you think is the most important problem that Romania is facing?" The responses were:

—Economic problems: 38.37 percent
—Unemployment and poverty: 13.47 percent
—Inflation: 7.04 percent
—Corruption: 9.62 percent
—Political problems: 15.39 percent
—Other responses: 5.22 percent
—Do not know/No response: 10.83 percent

6. "What solutions do you offer?" The responses were:

—Economic changes: 20.67 percent
—Social changes: 11.11 percent
—Political changes: 28.09 percent
—Other responses: 4.45 percent
—Do not know/No response: 35.68 percent

7. "Do you think Bessarabia should be united with Romania?" The responses were:

—Yes, immediately: 55.47 percent
—Yes, in the next fivd years: 8.08 percent
—Yes, in the next 10-15 years: 11.65 percent
—No, it is not a good idea: 5.5 percent
—No, this is not the time: 2.97 percent
—Other 'noes': 3.08 percent
—Do not know/No response: 13.19 percent

According to TINERETUL LIBER, "Some 75.20 percent of the persons questioned were in favor of the union of Bessarabia with Romania, 11.55 percent were opposed, 13.19 percent could not give an opinion, and 55.47 percent wanted the union to take place as soon as possible.

"As for age groups, adults were the most impatient (58.46 percent), men more than women (60.51 percent compared to 50.59 percent), persons in the production sectors (56.38 percent) more than those in the services sector (54.53 percent) and more than the unemployed (54.78 percent). In regard to education, the greatest support came from those with a colege education (60.34 percent), followed by those without a high-school education (55 percent) and those with only a high-school education (53.73 percent). Senior citizens (16.63 percent) and women (16.83 percent) were the most undecided. But certainly not older women, we should say."

8. "What do you think will be the main three political groupings in the future?" The responses were:

—The National Salvation Front: about 70 percent
—The National Peasant Christian Democratic Party: about 45 percent
—The National Liberal Party: 20 percent

TINERETUL LIBER adds: "Five points were given for the first grouping mentioned, four points for the second, and three points for the third. This seems to us to be all the more interesting since the levels of confidence in the gold medal winner and in the bronze medal winner—on the basis of their present leaders—were low. But that is another story."

9. "How much confidence do you have in each one of these political figures?" The general results were as follows:

Corneliu Coposu:

—Much: 25.95 percent
—Some: 13.14 percent
—Not too much: 11.43 percent
—None at all: 35.39 percent
—Do not know/No response: 11.87 percent

Emil Constantinescu:

—Much: 18.91 perce
—Some: 16.00 perce
—Not too much: 7.
—None at all: 21.22 percen
—Do not know/No response: 35.06 percent

Radu Campeanu:

—Much: 3.79 percent
—Some: 14.84 percent
—Not too much: 17.87 percent
—None at all: 53.05 percent
—Do not know/No response: 10.45 percent

Nicolae Manolescu:

—Much: 13.63 percent
—Some: 22.05 percent
—Not too much: 12.53 percent
—None at all: 26.11 percent
—Do not know/No response: 25.67 percent

Ion Iliescu:

—Much: 8.91 percent
—Some: 13.69 percent
—Not too much: 12.09 percent
—None at all: 57.34 percent
—Do not know/No response: 7.97 percent

Geza Domokos:

—Much: 3.85 percent
—Some: 10.56 percent
—Not too much: 13.91 percent
—None at all: 61.07 percent
—Do not know/No response: 20.56 percent

Petre Roman:

—Much: 7.2 percent

—Some: 10.72 percent
—Not too much: 14.68 percent
—None at all: 57.56 percent
—Do not know/No response: 9.84 percent

Ion Ratiu:

—Much: 23.09 percent
—Some: 23.91 percent
—Not too much: 10.5 percent
—None at all: 33.1 percent
—Do not know/No response: 9.4 percent

Ion Manzatu:

—Much: 4.34 percent
—Some: 13.8 percent
—Not too much: 14.35 percent
—None at all: 44.15 percent
—Do not know/No response: 23.36 percent

Calin Popescu Tariceanu:

—Much: 4.51 percent
—Some: 9.35 percent
—Not too much: 13.03 percent
—None at all: 33.64 percent
—Do not know/No response: 39.47 percent

Victor Surdu:

—Much: 7.31 percent
—Some: 10.72 percent
—Not too much: 11.76 percent
—None at all: 47.22 percent
—Do not know/no response: 22.92 percent

Theodor Stolojan:

—Much: 28.97 percent
—Some: 23.69 percent
—Not too much: 15.72 percent
—None at all: 22.21 percent
—Do not know/No response: 9.4 percent

Stolojan on Country's Prospects, Own Plans

92BA1324A Bucahrest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 5-6 Aug 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, by Octavian Andronic; place and date not given: "The Faith of the People Is A Heavy Burden"]

[Text] [Andronic] It has been more than nine months since you took over as head of the government. What, in you opinion, have been the high points in your job?

[Stolojan] The change of government, which is a new practice in Romania, and specifically the negotiations with the political parties may lead to big difficulties in the formation of the new government. The matter of forming a new government must be very well prepared by the political parties: They must choose their alliances well in advance, because otherwise the negotiations will be very difficult—that was the major obstacle we had to pass. Another point, to take it in chronological order, was of course the struggle to overcome the problems of the past winter that were exacerbated by the actual lack of energy reserves. At the same time, we had to overcome difficulties while still rescuing the economic reform, not by returning to an economic dictatorship, which is what we tried and almost succeeded in doing. Another difficult point was of course the delay in foreign financing that occurred in February-March this year and that practically made it impossible for us to attain a balanced rate of exchange and thus to use the market economy mechanism in allocating foreign currency. Consequently, we are only now achieving that, and the cost to the Romanian economy and society, the cost of this issue that must be clarified, is that there will once again be a price change.

[Andronic] On 1 September?

[Stolojan] No, before that, in connection with the problem of subsidies, we must align domestic prices to the new balance rate operating in the economy. I am referring to the price of coal and energy that undoubtedly will reflect on many other prices in the economy. But if we do not do it, there will be complete disarray in the economy and administration. Tensions will be created that will explode in the first month of the new government. So this is the price that Romania is paying for what occurred in February and March. It was actually the delayed financing of the foreign currency balance. That is what it was. Now we have the proper foreign financing, is it feasible, and we can rely on it. Of course, there were difficult moments in the negotiatons with the trade unions, too. A sui generis understanding... Mutual concessions that allowed us to go ahead with the reform and the balances, with restoring the balances. You see, I keep talking about restoring balances, but I don't know whether people realize what this means, all the economic balances reflected in demand and supply relationships, and others as well. Our former society was in a state of balance, but it was based on the past political and economic dictatorship. But we must restore a state of economic balance based on new mechanisms, on the mechanisms of economic freedom.

[Andronic] The mechanism of economic structure?

[Stolojan] Precisely! This year is a decisive year, because it has been the fate of this government to have as its main objective the struggle for economic stability, relegating to second place what was referred to as an economic upsurge. I think that if we manage to stabilize the economy this year—and we are not far from that—next year interest rates may indeed come down and a certain economic upsurge may be achieved. Because in reality there are both positive and negative signs. That is it. It is a difficult job for the trade unions, too. As you see, this government also does not have clear political support, even if it is supported by the FSN [National Salvation Front], a party that is at the same time engaged in the electoral campaign and that does not always agree with

the decisions of this government, because at times the political reasoning is different from the viewpoint of a government that works like we do. I cannot avoid recognizing this fact, the fact that now we are obligated to align the prices to the new exchange rate and that such alignments will alsways take place in the future, but on a smaller scale. We will run into additional difficulties in these 60 days we have left. Consider this manufactured shortage of sugar, because it was manufactured. I had firm governmental contracts for importing sugar, and it is my impression that private firms simply did all they could to sabotage these contracts so as to be able to import privately and sell at the highest possible prices.

[Andronic] Was this an isolated, coincidental phenomenon, or...?

[Stolojan] The phenomenon was generated by the existence of two sugar markets. An additional lesson, if you wish. The idea—not a bad one in itself—was that by having this sugar we took it upon ourselves to ensure certain quantities for the consumers, which means that we were importing sugar at subsidized prices. But then we let other importers bring in sugar that was to be sold at market prices. This practice exists in other countries, too, so a parallel market to the official market is not something illegal. Unfortunately, however, in view of the situation prevailing in our country, it seems that those who want to sell sugar on the parallel market at market prices have begun to sabotage the government's endeavors to bring in sugar to be sold at subsidized prices. Naturally, we cannot continue to be passive about it and now we have taken measures to protect the government supply from the greed, so to speak, of some enterprises. Unfortunately there has been an entirely undesirable delay. You see, this is another signal. What signal? That when it comes to the economy you cannot sit in two boats at once (as the Romanian saying goes) too long. It is not possible. One must decide. Of course, what stopped the liberalization was the plant, which had a very large production deficit, because not enough sugar beet was sown. But the tendency we want to follow is liberalization. If we come to an agreement with the trade unions, by 1 September sugar will be somewhat more expensive, we will offer a compensation, but the problem will have disappeared.

[Andronic] More than once you used the term management to refer to the government at this time. Was that a mere professional quirk, or an adjustment to the specific work required by a society in deep ecoomic crisis?

[Stolojan] The trouble is that in Romanian the word management has a very limited sense. People usually associate it with taking inventory of the management of a storeroom. Management is a much broader word. In a market economy, management also means managing a plant, that is, actual leadership, the activity of steering the plant, and the responsibility.

[Andronic] Staying in the realm of these terms, do you believe that when you took over you should have received a management report from your predecessor, and that you should do the same when you pass on the office?

[Stolojan] This is what happens. As a rule, governments come and go within the organized framework of democracy. Reports are natural in this kind of framekwork—what was achieved of the objectives of the government party and the respective government. This is something natural in a democracy. How did this government come to power? I am sorry to have to say it, but the truth is that it came to power by a street coup. So what management report can be made to a government that was installed by a street coup? To whom should it explain what it took over and what it did not? People forget this aspect. Normally, governments that will be democratically replaced in our country will have to receive and pass on the management to succeeding governments. In fact, there are balance sheets for the periods in which certain political parties that are voted into power must show the electorate what they achieved. That was one aspect. What was the second aspect? It was a personal thing regarding me, meaning that I did not need to manage with everything that was here. I knew almost in great detail, from the inside—even though by April I had stopped working—nevertheless, I knew exactly where we stood and I set on with all my energy to resolve the one problem that, with each passing day, could become extraordinarily difficult to solve. I, for example, will make a report. I will clearly show at what point we are in the reform, or in the economy, and what the problems are. I already sent several reports to Parliament, in which I always dealt with major points. As for the accusations against the previous government, people forget very quickly. They forgot the situation that prevailed in 1990 and the first part of 1991, they forgot that we were a country accustomed to work by orders and authorization, and at that time it seemed (and this is what people don't want to admit) that what we had was more of the same. The continuity is in us, in people, and in physical structures, but in the political mechanisms this continuity was abruptly and brutally broken. At that time—in the first year, for example—Roman had to authorize many things, because that was the only way to get things done here; Parliament could not pass one law after the other, and here there were issues that had to be resolved from one day to the next.

[Andronic] How are you doing in the atmosphere of suspicion generated by the recent reversals?

[Stolojan] This split between the FSN and the FDSN [Democratic Front of National Salvation] has an acute impact on the political arena. You see, what is very interesting is that this struggle among various political parties that has now become natural in our country, is a decisive battle for political power, but one in which the combatants believe that it is natural to use all the conventional and unconventional, permissible and unpermissible means to win.

[Andronic] Speaking of this matter, according to some very firm opinions, you were the only candidate who at

this time could be a serious opponent to Mr. Iliescu. Have you not been tempted by the idea to enter the presidential campaign, have not others tried to entice you with such proposals?

[Stolojan] There have been. I had discussions with leaders of political parties. I explained why I was not running in this electoral campaign. OK, leaving aside some presidential candidates whom I do not wish to name and who, as one of them was saying, do not mean to win and are only in the race for the publicity, to become a household name in Romania. No, we will overcome this kind of approaches and in coming years I suspect that no one will think like that anymore. Nevertheless, I believe that the contest between the candidates will be genuine because, you see, both the Democratic Convention candidate and the FSN candidate have the support of political parties with followers among the population, so it cannot be that a commensurate contest will not result from this support.

[Andronic] In a recent statement you left a conditional option open for remaining in politics. To what were you referring?

[Stolojan] At this point I do not feel capable of joining a political party—this is also a matter of pre-revolutionary mentality. This does not mean that in a few years, after working in that international financial institution and after my return, I may not also choose a party. I will join a political party because, and this may seem strange to you, I believe in the destiny of politial parties. I am convinced of their role, but I do not now feel able to get involved in political parties, because I think that some time is needed for clarification. Anyone needs time for that.

[Andronic] You are in the paradoxical situation of having to take unpopular measures at this time, while your own popularity has begun to grow at the same time. A recent poll stated that at the time it was taken you were the only political personality whose index was on the rise, while everyone else's was falling. How do you feel about this type of view, which was also reflected in the fact that you were awarded several prizes, something equally unusual for a person in such a situation?

[Stolojan] It was one of the, let us say, few moments when I could indeed say that the torture I endured in the past year was worth it, because from the outside the issues may appear very simple and various situations very easy to overcome. I know the effort I had to make to live through the past year. It was one of the few opportunities I had to ascertain that the people, or many of them, do understand that what we are doing here is something necessary and that without it we have practically only one path—toward something worse. By doing these things we can hope for better; if we do not do them, we can be certain of only one thing: that it will be worse and worse.

[Andronic] A sort of awareness of the necessary evil?

[Stolojan] Yes. I tried to explain these things. People could see the difference. I tried to explain at these press conferences that sometimes were too long. People have faith in you and it is immoral to con them. The most difficult thing for me is to realize that people's faith in me runs against the fact that I am aware that some things need to be done and that, if I put them off, it will be even worse in the future. The faith of the people is a very heavy burden.

[Andronic] Are you optimistic about the future? How long do you think it will be before we see signs of some recovery, and in what conditions?

[Stolojan] I think it will be as of the next year—which paradoxically again, will be after we are out of office. But I think that as of next year the signs of recovery will become much more evident. If we manage to achieve economic stability, it will become possible to lower interest rates, to stop these price shocks, and after a period of greater stability the struggle between trade unions and employers will also abate in intensity. So by perhaps winning the battle for stability, pay raises will of course no longer come in the form of 20 percent or... but will be 4-5 percent. You see, already several trade union centrals are waving about the idea of 24,000 lei. Of course, if it is 24,000 lei I can make the economy operate at the level of 24,000 lei. That is not the problem, the problem is to stabilize the economy so that one no longer needs raises every year. In fact, there are evident achievements in the area of stability, too; once again I want to remind you that in 1990 salaries were paid to people who did not even work; in 1991 salaries increased 61 percent above and beyond any indexation, while this year the increase was kept somewhere around 20 percent, not counting indexation. Next year a 5-6 percent raise will be normal, and in the following years this struggle for economic stability must continue. Of course, this also assumes as much social protection as the society can afford. If this issue is kept in mind, then the path to economic recovery is opened.

[Andronic] Would you like to take this opportunity to say a few words to the readership of LIBERTATEA, who support and appreciate you? When did you first see and read LIBERTATEA and in what conditions?

[Stolojan] I picked up the first copy in the afternoon of 22 December. Being at the Treasury, we were very close to that area. That first newspaper was a true phenomenon. Coming back to the present, I think that LIBERTATEA is a daily that has found its niche in the mass media, a respectable daily that manages to preserve a secure balance. As far as I can see, the information reported by LIBERTATEA is genuine, of a good quality, and very realistic. And the title box on the first page that serves to arouse or suggest what such titles can suggest, is also very original and interesting. And I am also pleased because I realize that it is also a financially sound newspaper. Or at least it does not have special problems. I wish it a long life.

Serb Liaison To Leave UN Force Headquarters

LD2508140792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The command of the Serbian Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina announced today that it has decided to withdraw its liaison officers from the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] headquarters in Sarajevo.

The command's statement, carried by the SRNA news agency, says that the officers were withdrawn because of constant threats from members of the Muslim forces under the command of Jusuf Prazina.

According to SRNA, the Muslim forces in Sarajevo have started searching UNPROFOR vehicles and mistreating and arresting Serbian liaison officers.

The command of the Serbian army ordered the immediate evacuation of its liaison officers. UNPROFOR has not yet made any statement concerning the news about the withdrawal of Serbian officers.

Serbs Claim Corridor Misused for Arms Deliveries

LD2408140392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 24 Aug 92

[Text] Pale, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—The air corridor for humanitarian flights is not being used solely by planes carrying humanitarian aid, the Serbian radio in Pale announced late last night citing the Igman Brigade Command of the Serb Republic Army.

As the Serbian radio claims, aircraft with unidentified marks and crews have on several occasions made long detours from the route planned for humanitarian fligts and then circled for a long time above the mountains of Bjelasnica and Igman and the western parts of the Sarajevo plain, where formations of Muslim and Croatian forces are positioned.

The Army of the Serbian Republic (of Bosnia-Herceogvina) has recently noted on several occasions that humanitarian flights have been misused for the delivery of arms to the Muslim side.

So far, three detours from the usual corridors have been registered, made by planes which dropped their cargo with parachutes above Muslim territories.

Since arms of Arabic and Turkish production were subsequently captured on battlefields, it is suspected that the planes which detoured from the corridors delivered arms to the Muslim side, the Serbian radio reported.

Pelivan Discusses Visits, London Conference

AU2508162292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Nada Rajkovic report]

[Text] Today's guest in the International Press Center was Bosnia-Hercegovina Prime Minister Jure Pelivan. He presented to the public the results of his recent visit to the communes of western Hercegovina and central Bosnia. Some current matters from the military sphere were discussed in these talks, as well as production trends. Jure Pelivan said that the representatives of these communes reiterated their support for a sovereign and integral Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as that they are not demanding the separation of either Hercegovina or Herceg-Bosnia. However, in these communes they do hold a somewhat different view on internal organization of the republic.

Speaking about the forthcoming Conference on Yugoslavia in London, Pelivan said he does not expect much from the conference, but he believes that the international public will succeed in finding ways to stop the clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Answering a journalist's question concerning the reestablishment of postal and telephone communications and better supplying of the financial institutions with Bosnia-Hercegovina currency, Pelivan said that there are still problems with regulating postal and telephone communications with the world and that as a result of the telephone lines being out of order, they are not in the position to supply Sarajevo with the Bosnia-Hercegovina currency.

In order for the government to function better, travel outside Sarajevo is being organized for the ministers, along with the appointment of a new defense minister.

Tudjman Departs, Comments on London Conference

LD2508204192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] The resolution of the UN General Assembly has certainly strengthened the position of Croatia at tomorrow's London peace conference on the former Yugoslavia. Most of the world's diplomats, representatives of all the newly created states on the soil of former Yugoslavia and representatives of national minorities will be gathered there.

The Croatian delegation is led by President Franjo Tudjman and it also includes Minister of Foreign Affairs Zdenko Skrabalo; Jure Radic, head of the office of the president of the republic; and foreign policy adviser Zeljko Matic.

Leaving Zagreb for London this evening, President Tudjman said:

[Begin recording] [Tudjman] Expectations of the London conference are both skeptical and at the same time, on the part of some, very optimistic, but I think we should be realistic and recognize that this involves at this time the entire world public and all international factors in the problem of halting the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the solution of the crisis on the soil of former Yugoslavia. From this point of view our negotiators there have the task of speeding up this entire process in which the international community is hesitating and in which there is clearly disagreement between individual states, leading states of the EC and within the United Nations.

[Unidentified reporter] Croatia is not abandoning its stands.

[Tudjman] Of course not. [end recording]

RSK To Insist on Self-Determination at Conference

LD2508150892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1350 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—At the international Conference on Yugoslavia in London, the legitimate representatives of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) will insist on the right of the Serb people to self-determination, RSK Assembly President Mile Paspalj said on Tuesday [25 August].

The RSK was founded last year within the administrative boundaries of Croatia where Serbs constitute the majority population. The Serbs, who account for 12 percent of Croatia's overall population, proclaimed their own state in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and demoting of its Serbs to a national minority status.

"In our territory, the Croatian state has not been functioning for a long time," Paspalj said in an interview to the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES.

The RSK has its own territory, population, state bodies, police, judicial bodies, laws and currency, he explained.

"In a referendum held on 12 May 1991, about 98 percent of the RSK's electorate voted for independence. We respected the democratic procedure upon which the West insists", said Paspalj.

He went on to say that "Europe must realize that we are a constitutive nation. We enjoyed that status until the adoption of the new Croatian Constitution in 1990, when we were downgraded to a national minority."

Paspalj recalled that the Serbs in Krajina had autonomy under Empress Maria Theresa of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Europe should also learn how the Serbs in Croatia have been assimilated and systematically converted into Catholicism, he said.

"We shall accept no special status, and the only thing we can discuss with the other side are the borders," said Paspalj.

"The borders must be defined. The most logical way would be to follow the natural borders, but let's leave the issue to future negotiations," he explained.

"The most important thing at present is to relieve the tension of war and to revive the economy," said Paspalj. He hoped the London conference would be a stimulus to peace and that, after the conference, Croatia would abandon the practice of everyday provocations.

"The world must realize that the Serbs shall never again live in a Croat state. Beside the Croats, yes, but together with them, no," he added.

"There are many Croats in the RSK who live there as equal citizens. Those who want to return will also be accepted if they respect the RSK laws and if they do not have blood on their hands," said Paspalj.

He also said the RSK would hold another referendum in which the Serb people would say "with whom and how they want to live."

After the London conference, we plan to hold a pan-Serb assembly which should vote on a unification of the RSK and the Serb republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said Paspalj.

The Serb republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina was founded on April 7 after the European Community recognized this former Yugoslav republic as an independent state at the request of its Moslems and Croats, and against the will of the third constituent nation—the Serbs.

Paspalj said the idea was favoured by the Serbs on both sides of the Una River, which for the most part forms a natural border between the RSK and the Serb republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"There are about 3.5 million of us there. The world and Europe cannot ignore us," he said in conclusion.

Tudjman Advocates Peaceful, Political Settlement

LD2508193792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Croatia accepts the proposal to end the media war, but above all it advocates an end of the actual war, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said in a letter sent on Monday [24 August] evening to President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic.

President Cosic on Sunday sent messages to presidents of the former Yugoslav republics - Franjo Tudjman (Croatia), Milan Kucan (Slovenia) and Kiro Gligorov (Macedonia) - proposing the establishment of a joint committee for talks on the settlement of inter-state relations, economic ties, communications, commodity exchange, citizenship, social and other questions of vital importance to all citizens in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

In his reply, Tudjman said that Croatia had continuously advocated a peaceful and political settlement of all questions which Cosic mentioned in his letter and that it "did not emerge by way of secession from the Yugoslav federation, but that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a whole dissolved, as confirmed also by international factors."

The former Yugoslavia has ceased to exist following the decisions on secession unilaterally taken by Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and by the Muslim-Croat coalition in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Serbia and Montenegro have continued to live together in a transformed state community - the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Croatia does not deny the right of Serbia and Montenegro to unite into a new state community, but we do not recognize such a new Yugoslav community as the only legal successor to the former Yugoslavia, said Tudjman in his letter.

He expressed readiness to talk with representatives of all states which are successors to former Yugoslavia on resolving the problems of dissociation of former Yugoslavia "but only after Serbia and Montenegro, together with their new state community, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, have recognized the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders."

Croat, Muslim Refugees From Bosnia Barred Entry

LD2208122992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Text] The talks held on the main highway outside Nova Gradiska between representatives of humanitarian organizations from Nova Gradiska and civil authorities on one side, and representatives of the Serbian Red Cross from Bosanska Gradiska and the Banja Luka agency on the transfer of non-Serbians from the Banja Luka region on the other, lasted until very late into the night. According to earlier agreement the Serbs were supposed to bring about 60 Croats and Muslims from Bosanska Gradiska. The Banja Luka agency for transfer brought over 600 Croats and Muslims from Banja Luka in coaches, wanting to expel them to Croatia. Given that the Croatian Government has adopted a resolute stand in connection with the collection of refugees from Bosnia, residents of Nova Gradiska were not able to receive them. Dissatisfied, the Serbian negotiators refused to allow into Croatia both Croats and Muslims from Nova Gradiska and all the coaches returned to Bosnia.

Deportation of Conscripts, Reservists Halted

LD2208121492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0559 GMT 22 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 21 Aug [date as received] (TANJUG)—Croatia will no longer deport military conscripts and reservists to Bosnia-Hercegovina, but, observing international conventions, will send them to West European countries.

This was pointed out today at a news conference given by the government office for refugees in Zagreb. In accordance with the UN Office of the High Commmissioner for Refugees, as early as today, a group of 300-1,500 men from Bosanski Brod will be transferred to Varazdin, from where they will continue their journey to the Netherlands, it was stated at the news conference. [passage omitted]

Rupel: Serbia To Stand Accused at Conference

LD2508130892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1052 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Aug (Tanjug)—Slovene Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Dimitrij Rupel said that "Serbia will find itself standing accused" at the conference in London. Rupel listed the president and the prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), Dobrica Cosic and Milan Panic, among the representatives of Serbia.

Slovenia, as its foreign minister stressed at a press conference, "does not recognize the FRY, and does not want to make its international recognition any easier." Rupel did not exclude the possibility that the Slovene delegation would not go to the conference. However, we have learned from sources close to the political top in Ljubljana that the Slovene delegation will certainly take part in the Conference on Yugoslavia.

Together with Austria and Germany, Slovenia will determinedly oppose the equal participation of FRY representatives in the meeting in London. Slovenes will also, as they have already announced, try to blame exclusively Serbia and Montenegro, i.e., Yugoslavia for the present situation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, stressing that the international community has been too tolerant of the moves of the Serbian-Montenegrin coalition and the FRY leadership.

Reports of Opposition to Yugoslavia Discussed

LD2008091192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1632 GMT 19 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—Slovenia alone has been against the participation of a Yugoslav delegation in the Brussels conference, it has been asserted in generally well informed circles. Ljubljana has also belittled a decision by Prime Minister Panic that Yugoslavia was recognizing Slovenia. Its officials compete in sending out demands for a military intervention against Serbia and Montenegro and against those parts of former Yugoslavia with which Slovenia's living together has until recently been quite possible and nice. Questions arise as to how a proportionally small country begins so ardently to act in the long run against what has been a highly beneficial area for its economy. Why does this country persist in denying the re-establishment of an economic space in what has been Yugoslavia, the dissolution of which had begun precisely with Slovenia's secession. Where does this maliciousness come from regarding the efforts of other nations, Serbian and Montenegrin, to have states of their own too. And, how, at last, to explain the conduct that is essentially aimed also against the interests of one's own people.

This may be interpreted in the simplest way, of course, by the favour-currying nature of those Slovenian leaders who want to win their German patrons, Germany and Austria, the states without whose abundant assistance their secession would have been impossible. But, maybe there are other reasons, too.

According to very reliable diplomatic sources, Slovenia takes the lead in acting against Yugoslavia not only because of the leniency of its leaders but also because this role was given it by its patrons who are increasingly becoming its managers.

Slovenia, according to the same sources, acts in conformity with the scenario of the German group of countries, in which Yugoslavia is merely a stake in the materialization of far wider and farther- reaching objectives.

One of the objectives, as is asserted, is the domination over Europe by means of creating a large number of tiny vassal states to be modelled after the pattern of Slovenia. The growing of Germany to the proportions of a superpower would inevitably be accompanied by military attributes for which good prospects are created with the chaos in the Balkans.

It is perfectly clear that the strengthening of German power in Europe would necessarily lead to a proportionate weakening of America, and it is in this respect that Germany's endeavours may be described as the corrosive action of ground waters against the U.S. positions in the old continent. Although such an activity will never be publicly confessed, at this time it really is detrimental to President Bush's prospects of re-election.

If peace is really wanted, the most natural thing to be done is to constituent formation of the entire space of former Yugoslavia. It is also clear that denials to recognize the legitimate wish of the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro to have their own state are not conducive to a peaceful resolution.

Federal

Cosic Receives UN Special Envoy Mazowiecki

LD2508164192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today received Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former president of the Polish Government and current special envoy of the UN Human Rights Commission. During their one- hour talk, Mr. Mazowiecki emphasized that the main goal of his mission is to investigate questions of human rights violations in prison camps on the territory of former Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this regard, he stressed that his first impressions of the areas he had visited so far are that there exists a high degree of mutual hatred, particularly "brutal and inhuman ethnic cleansing." He said the current media war plays a particularly negative role in this.

President Cosic expressed his satisfaction that Mr. Mazowiecki, a respected personality from Poland, is heading the commission's delegation. He said that he personally, and as president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, condemns the examples and practice of mutual hatred and ethnic cleansing. He said the problem in Bosnia-Hercegovina is a religious, ethnic, and civil war with powerful ingredients of genocide. Our country is doing everything possible to stop this war and to correctly recognize its real causes.

President Cosic also stated that there are no prison camps in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but there are accommodations for refugees. He invited Mr. Mazowiecki to visit the accommodations.

Cosic's Hopes, Fears Concerning London Conference

LD2508151992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1424 GMT 25 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—We go to London with hope and fear, Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic told TANJUG and Serbia Radio and Television on Tuesday before leaving for the British capital for the conference on Yugoslavia.

We hope that the conference will bring about a major political turnabout in the approach to the Yugoslav problems, and that it will ensure equality for all participants and respect the right of peoples to self-determination, said Cosic.

Without these two basic principles, he said, there will be no just and lasting solution to the Yugoslav misfortune and no stability in the Yugoslav and Balkan lands.

The Yugoslav president said he feared that these two principles would not be accepted and that the conference would therefore yield only very modest results.

I hope the Yugoslav delegation will succeed in convincing "the forum of the world political wisdom" that it is necessary to respect these basic principles of the United Nations, he explained.

Noting that the immediate task of the London conference is to create conditions, make decisions and ensure objective conditions for ending the war in Bosnia, Cosic said no effort should be spared to end the suffering of hundreds of thousands of people.

"Rest assured that our delegation will do everything in its power to bring about peace and that it will exert political influence on all the factors responsible for the troubled situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina," he added.

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has had no part in conference preparations which I see as a great mishap" said Cosic.

"We did not receive the conference agenda and draft documents on Monday evening, which speaks for itself about the conditions under which the Yugoslav delegation had to prepare for the conference", explained Cosic.

"I believe responsible people at the conference, primarily our British hosts and the U.N. secretary-general, will invest their authority to enable us to honourably and equally participate in the resolution of all issues concerning our fate," he said.

"No one should doubt that we shall participate constructively at the conference. We are prepared to make compromises, but we shall honourably defend our vital interests and human and national dignity," Cosic said.

Delegation Leaves for London Conference

LD2508150292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—At about 1400 today, a Yugoslav delegation left aboard a special plane for London to attend the Conference on Yugoslavia.

Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, and Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency, left from Belgrade airport.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic is already in London.

The delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which is, according to an Assembly decision, headed by President of the Republic Dobrica Cosic, was seen off by Yugoslav Vice Premier Radoje Kontic, Yugoslav Army Chief of General Staff Colonel General Zivota Panic, and Michael Robinson, charge d'affaires of the British Embassy in Belgrade.

Panic Says FRY Underestimated Importance of Media

LD2508125392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1057 GMT 25 Aug 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Rome, August 25 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Milan Panic told Milan's CORRIERE DELLA SERA that Yugoslavia underestimated the importance of the media war and now has to pay dearly for its error in judgement.

The Serbian people is subjected to an orchestrated and unjust demonization in the world media, the Yugoslav prime minister said in an interview to the Italian daily, given in London.

Milan Panic was categoric that a big U.S. publicity agency received 17 million dollars from the Croatian-American lobby as payment for destroying the reputation of the Serbs and spreading lies about them.

Milan Panic said that [words indistinct] of reports on the so-called Serb crimes and atrocities, which have not been committed at all in the first place, arrived to editorial offices of newspapers and magazines by fax from the sources.

In Yugoslavia we have completely overlooked the fact that mass media are a highly effective weapon in waging a war, Milan Panic said in an interview which the Milan daily published on Tuesday under the heading of "My Serbia Heads West".

The Yugoslav prime minister pointed out that the campaign on alleged plans drawn up by the Serbs to eliminate other nations in the Balkans is chiefly pursued by those who had committed the abhorring crime of genocide on the Serbian people during the Second World War.

I want to remind the world that the Serbs, by radically resisting Nazism and its [words indistinct], paid the high price in the last war, Milan Panic said in his interview to the Milan daily.

It is difficult to believe that Croatia, a collaborator in this crime and an ally of Nazi Germany in the World War II when the crime of a mass murder was committed against the Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, was recognized without any problem by the United States of America, a Serbian ally [word indistinct] the World War Two, and by the Vatican.

The West has forgotten the history and is now satanizing its loyal ally from two world wars and championing those who were on the enemy side - the Croats, Milan Panic recalled.

The prime minister pointed out that he was not overly worried over the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the United States of America, since George Bush and James Baker [word indistinct] taken Yugoslavia's side from the beginning.

Milan Panic also set out his six-point platform for the London conference: The absence of any Yugoslav Armed Forces whatsoever in Bosnia, the condemnation of "ethnic cleansing", the rejection of any similar methods whatsoever, guarantees that Yugoslavia will not intervene militarily in Bosnia, the recognition of Bosnia within the existing boundaries in keeping with Cyrus Vance's plan, guarantees that Yugoslavia will not send weapons to Bosnia and an invitation to the United Nations Organisation to monitor borders suspected of being used to smuggle weapons into Bosnia.

The prime minister also stressed that a new democratic Yugoslavia is being born and that Milosevic is a figure of the past, leaving the political scene, because a new era is on its way in.

The old Yugoslavia of Slobodan Milosevic is dead, Prime Minister Panic said in his interview to Milan's CORRIERE DELLA SERA.

Government, Opposition Begin Roundtable Talks

LD2508153692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1122 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, August 25 (TANJUG)—The establishment of political and legal prerequisites for the calling and holding of early elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the main topic of the round-table talks between the authorities and opposition at the federal level which began in the Yugoslav Parliament on Tuesday [25 August].

The first plenary meeting, chaired by Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, is [word indistinct] attended by 18 parliamentary parties from Serbia and Montenegro and representatives of the two republican governments.

The debate at the round-table talks will be based on the Yugoslav Government's declaration on "necessary political and legal prerequisites for the calling and holding of early reelections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

The meeting, also attended by the federal ministers for justice, national minorities, education and culture and information, began with a discussion about the Government-proposed rules of the round-table talks.

One of the numerous open questions is whether non-parliamentary parties, whose representatives are also attending Tuesday's meeting, will take part in the round-table talks.

Panic Interviewed on Own Performance

92BA1322A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 92 p 8

[Interview with Milan Panic, prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Milan Jelovac; place and date not given: "The American Businessman Who Is Prime Minister of the 'Federal Republic of Yugoslavia'"]

[Text] Milan Panic, American businessman of Serbian origin, has been prime minister of the FRY [Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia] for several weeks now. Since the day he was installed in the office of prime minister, the name of this American with a red Yugoslav passport has not left the pages of the world media. The most important reason for that is certainly the escalation of the war in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] and his readiness, verbal for the present, to stop the bloodshed. Milan Panic mainly speaks English, and that is probably why his Serbian vocabulary is full of archaisms and English crutch words. This interview with SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is the first that Panic has given to a newsman from the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It is also indicative that the author of these lines was invited to "travel with him whenever he likes," because, as he says, "it is extremely important that the Croatian public learn about the steps he is taking."

[Jelovac] Mr. Panic, your popularity in the media, which we have not seen recently in these parts, also brings with it differing assessments of your political stature. For all their inclination toward your peacemaking ideas, many political analysts reproach you for offering nothing more than nice words. They want deeds.

[Panic] I want deeds more than they do, but first of all, before concrete action, you have to know what you want to achieve. Over these 20 days or so that I have been prime minister, I have been traveling extensively and signed more agreements than the other politicians in these parts.

Deeds and specific actions require that you first have a plan; first you have to know what you want. Second, you have to know how to achieve general consensus behind the methods of the realization of your plan. It must be correct and generally accepted. That is precisely the aim of my travels, so that all world statesmen agree with my plan, which is actually an extension of Carrington's peace plan. All the leaders I have talked to are in favor of peace, but no one as yet knows how to achieve that peace they want; they have only a vague idea. I have presented my concept of a peace plan to almost all the statesmen of the West, except Bush and Kohl, and all agree with me. Following the meeting with Bush and Kohl, I will commence full realization of the plan.

[Jelovac] What do you mean when you refer to your peace plan?

[Panic] First of all, the plan calls for peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is the most important step at this moment. To stop the shooting and killing unconditionally, without any kind of blackmail. Simply stop shooting, so that the war will stop. After that, begin negotiations about ways of resolving the B-H question. So far, they have all agreed with that idea—no one has been against it.

The Cross and the Tank

[Jelovac] How will a cease-fire be achieved when the war in B-H has unfortunately escalated in spite of all the truces signed up to now?

[Panic] I have talked with all three B-H leaders, with Izetbegovic, Karadzic, and Boban, and they all agree to the peace option. But none of them knows how to achieve peace. I do know. First, by disarmament. After all three order their armies to cease fire, the gun barrels have to be lowered. Soon, in a few days, I am going to Sarajevo and visiting Gorazde with Alija Izetbegovic. In the presence of the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force], we will gather up all the weapons around Gorazde, load them onto trucks, and take them off to Yugoslavia. Those weapons will never again cross the borders of Yugoslavia. That is already something, and that will be the first specific act. On my first visit to Sarajevo, I wanted to announce peace with the symbolic gesture of surrendering a Serbian tank to UNPROFOR. That was to be a symbol of peace, although some people say that symbols are not good. I say symbols are fantastic. The cross, the symbol of Jesus Christ, has withstood the test of 2,000 years. Symbols are not bad if they are understood.

His cross was a symbol of peace, my tank was a symbol of peace. Yeah [preceding word in English]. Symbols are extremely important; actually I am a peace symbol. That is all I am. How can a little fellow from California make peace? I am a peace symbol, not peace itself. The Bosnians have to make peace. That is why it is extremely important at this point to agree with Izetbegovic about the trip to Gorazde and demilitarization of that area.

We have also agreed with the UNPROFOR about the withdrawal of weapons. The return of weapons to the Republic of Croatia must also commence from the Croatian part of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Boban has agreed to that, but that has to be well-organized. It is easier to talk about that than to actually accomplish it. But the most important thing is to know what you want to do. Unlike them, I do know. That is why all their schemes and agreements have failed, because they were unrealistic. They are fighting for borders, and I will not talk about borders. They are fighting for territory, I have not the least interest in territory. I have one and only one interest—to stop the shooting. After all, there are no reasons for killing Bosnian young people. It is pointless. This entire war is pointless. You do not dare to say that to those great fighters who are killing one another—pointless. In essence, this Bosnian war is extremely irrational. It has to be stopped and demilitarization of B-H must begin.

[Jelovac] Nicely said, but how is it to be done?

[Panic] I have an excellent plan, somewhat California-style, but excellent. So, all the weapons should be piled up and sold back to the Americans, because there are many of their weapons in B-H. Devastated Bosnia should be built back with that money. Bosnians do not need weapons except to go hunting. So, they should be sold immediately, there are buyers. Everyone laughs when they hear this, and then they begin to think about it. You can sell a good tank for $1 million. And how many tanks are there in B-H? I would even sell some of

the weapons from Yugoslavia. And then use that money to build B-H. My plan even includes sites in B-H where the weapons would be stored. The Serbian weapons, Muslim weapons, and Croatian weapons. They say in the United Nations that there are too many of those sites and that it will be difficult to guard them. The peace-keeping organization is excessively bureaucratized. When I wanted to make a present of the tank in Sarajevo, I had no one to give it to. The United Nations has no system for that. McKenzie said: "I cannot take that tank." "How come you cannot, when I want to begin demilitarization of B-H with a tank?" He said, "We have nowhere to put it." I said, "Here you have a tank." He said, "I cannot take it." I almost asked him "Because you cannot hide with a tank?" A fine man that McKenzie, a real Irishman, and he can get angry.

Bosnia Needs a New Tito

I will not leave Sarajevo until the war is over. I think that is worse for Bosnian politicians than war. That I am there.... After all, they can constantly hide behind the war, while with me, face to face [preceding words in English], they are totally open.... Then you see who they are, what they are, and how they talk. I do not think they are even so belligerent; on the contrary, it seems to me they all want peace. But they do not know how, there are groups that do not desire peace. They are criminals. The snipers, for instance. They are professional criminals and murderers. They are killing everyone, it matters not whether it is a Muslim, a Croat, a Serb, or an elderly person in hiding. The only essential thing is to shoot as much as possible and kill as many as possible. They are the worst.

[Jelovac] You recently met with Boban, Silajdzic, and Karadzic. After that, you presented the idea of a temporary division of B-H into ethnic enclaves.

[Panic] What is an enclave? Ah, yes, cantonization. That is only a temporary solution. I have already said that the Croats do not trust the Muslims, the Muslims do not trust the Serbs, the Serbs do not trust the Croats. No one trusts anyone anymore. You and I are sitting here now at a table, you believe that I will not do anything bad to you, I believe that you will not do anything to me. Those three (Karadzic, Silajdzic, Boban) no longer trust each other at all. And that is how it is with a large segment of the nationalities of B-H. So, that is why I think that the refugees from Croatia should be returned very quickly to B-H. After all, refugees in those numbers represent a tragedy for Croatia. Even Serbia cannot easily support such a wave of refugees. Economically. It is hard to support such a number of people who are not producing anything, they are not working, it is psychologically difficult, the refugees have to be sent back to B-H, and B-H has to be divided temporarily so that the Muslims and Serbs and Croats have their respective part of the territory, and they will be safe there. That kind of divided Bosnia-Hercegovina would function only until the elections, which should be held as soon as possible. I even gave Silajdzic a time frame—one month. He said—that is impossible, it takes six months to a year for elections. As soon as the shooting stops, there should be elections, so that citizens elect their true representatives, people who will lead the country to peace, not into a still bloodier war. On my first visit to Sarajevo, I said in jest to Izetbegovic: "I do not believe you will win the next election." Izetbegovic asked: "Why?" "When as the president of B-H you led the state into a civil war, who is going to elect you?" Even a sizable portion of the Muslims will not vote for him. Why would the Croats vote for Alija when he started the war during his term of office, his son has been killed, his father, his house has been destroyed.

Bosnia-Hercegovina needs a person like Marshal Tito, I said that to Silajdzic, Karadzic, and Boban, a person who will rise above everything. To become at one and the same time the leader of the Muslims, the Croats, and the Serbs, and then such a person would be a Bosnian politician. I think that Izetbegovic in fact wanted that, but in that case you must not choose one of the three sides, but claim the position of leader of all. That is the advantage I have over them, I never leaned toward any side, Boban is the one among the B-H leaders whom I like the most. A fine, solid, serious man. He absolutely wants peace. War is of no interest to him.

[Jelovac] You have returned from an extremely extensive diplomatic tour. What agreement did you reach with the representatives of the West?

[Panic] I am not a diplomat, that was not a diplomatic tour. I only went to familiarize world leaders with the elements of my peace plan. You have to be a diplomat to go off on a diplomatic tour. True, I have a diplomatic passport, perhaps I am in fact a diplomat.... I never dreamed that anyone would ever call me a diplomat. I am joking, it was very strenuous, flying in the plane, talks, again the plane.

I am satisfied with the talks. I obtained universal support from almost the entire world. No one was against. Not one, it must be a good idea, because no one was against it, no one objected.

[Jelovac] But above all the United Nations nevertheless is taking up the possibility of expelling the FRY from the world organization. The threat of military intervention and diplomatic and economic pressures are growing.

Panic's Yugoslavia

[Panic] That is a political question. Incidentally, the FRY is larger than 100 of the member countries of the United Nations, and it has to be a member of the world organization. It is an administrative question how Yugoslavia will become/remain a member of the United Nations. Will that be the old Yugoslavia or the new one? As far as I am concerned, I favor the new Yugoslavia. I want Yugoslavia to begin with me. And Tito's Yugoslavia to end before me. Some people do not like that, do not want that, I do not know why.... All those who now represent Yugoslavia in the world are leftovers from the

old system. I want to put an end to that, I want to create a new and modern state. Yeah [preceding word in English], a new state. A new Balkan state. I am not even certain I like the name Yugoslavia. It is somehow connected with war, with killing, with terrible sufferings. We need to create a confederation of Balkan countries. The USB—United States of the Balkans [preceding words in English]. I am certain that Croatia will qualify to join the future confederation. My Balkan trip was in fact in that context.

[Jelovac] You are the first high-level statesman from the FRY who although the war is still going on has met the president of Croatia and the deputy prime minister. What did you talk about?

[Panic] This was a very proper and open discussion. My most important interest as far as Tudjman was concerned was for us to try to agree on several essential things. To sign some treaties. After all, we are neighbors, and we will recognize Croatia. I also said that. Tudjman answered that he also wants that, "very gladly...." After all, it is the most important thing in the world to be recognized by your neighbor, not by someone on the other side of the planet. So, I suggested to him that we immediately open the Zagreb-Belgrade highway, but Tudjman did not immediately agree to that. In a day or so I will telephone him and suggest opening the highway once again. This is not so much because of the Croats and Serbs, because I do not believe that they will come running to one another as soon as the highway is opened, but because of foreigners. For us together to demonstrate that Milan Panic wants peace and that Franjo Tudjman wants peace. I believe that Franjo Tudjman really desires peace. So, I talked to Franjo Tudjman about peace, about opening communications and demilitarization. I am planning to meet Tudjman as soon as possible.

I am thinking about suggesting to Tudjman that he remove the chessboard from your Croatian flag.

[Jelovac] To remove the chessboard? That is the seal of the Republic of Croatia!

[Panic] I will ask him, because the chessboard on the flag presents the old Croatia, and he should be building the new Croatia. The old Croatia was no better than the old Yugoslavia. All of that old stuff should be forgotten as soon as possible. We need to look forward. The Serbs associate the chessboard with dark times and fascism, and we will remove everything of ours that bothers Tudjman and the Croats. We will get rid of it all. Just let Tudjman say what he wants us to remove, I consent. That would be a sign of absolute tolerance and the end of the old systems. So, there is probably something else the Croats do not like, the cross with the S's, the four S's, and the cockades. If Tudjman says "no Serb should any longer have a beard," I will immediately ban beards in Serbia. Let all Serbs go get a shave!

The Croat who is concerned about his children, his grandchildren, his family, his house, his life, do you think he is interested in old symbols? No, he is interested in his children's future. He is not living off the past. That is why he should say good-bye to symbols that represent the wrong things and our tragedies.

[Jelovac] Previously, you announced recognition of the former Yugoslav republics, which are now states that have obtained international recognition. When will you recognize Croatia?

[Panic] As soon as we finish what I would call this diplomatic mission, we will begin recognition of the former Yugoslav republics. Actually, ending the war will be recognition. They all want recognition. The Macedonians, the Croats, and the Bosnians.

[Jelovac] You will recognize both Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia?

[Panic] Of course, of course...

[Jelovac] In what borders?

[Panic] In their entire borders, in Tito's borders. And after a time, when you young people decide to make certain other borders, without war and battles, you do it. Make them however you like.

Who is interested in borders? Only the politicians. In order to have more land, two kilometers. I am not a politician, not in the least. I am not interested in borders. Borders are not important, that is the first thing. The important thing is how much you produce, do people live well, do they have enough to eat, do they have a roof over their head, an automobile? That is important, not borders. Let the politicians accomplish that. But by agreement. I would favor removal of borders, but Tudjman would not agree to that. I understand that.

Someone has to start talking like I am. And I will say this. And I do not care whether the politicians like it or do not like it. Because it will be difficult for anyone to take a position and remove borders when that same one has said that 10 or 100,000 people will lose their lives on behalf of that stupid border. How, then, can he say that the border is not essential? It is not important to me. Because I think that those lives were lost for nothing. Poor children. Poor people, both Serbs and Croats. Young people agree with this. Only the old people like me do not agree. They want territory. In the 20th century! What does it matter, one kilometer here or there, whether a village is here or there? That is the tragedy.

Serbian-Croatian-Muslim.... From the old politicians. I should have come here one, three, or four years earlier.

[Jelovac] And you think that all of this would not have happened?

[Panic] Absolutely. People at that time were not in favor of this war. No one was in favor of this. This will be a black spot in the history of this region. Foreigners will say about this—savages. We are uncivilized people. We kill one another for no reason. These savage murders,

slaughters, it is horrible, a tragedy. As though we were savages. And they all agree with that, both in Zagreb and Belgrade. Nevertheless, they did it. Who forced them to do that? The politicians and the government. And the person who lost a son? What do you think? Do you think that he is interested in politics and power? And now let someone tell them that nevertheless it was not all as it should be....

The future is important, we should eliminate the gloomy past. Respect for human rights, the Croat in Yugoslavia should have the same rights as a Serb in Croatia, the same criteria for all. Formulas for that already exist. The Serbs and Croats do not have to reinvent the wheel. After all, the wheel was invented more than 2,000 years ago. I think that representatives of the principal religions should meet as soon as possible and appeal to their believers for peace and tolerance and opposition to war. The church should teach people peace and love, not killing. It imparts a moral value to life.

[Jelovac] We have touched on religion, and for that matter you did so in your first public statement. When you were asked whether Milosevic would get in your way, you said: "God help him if he does."

[Panic] God help him, you people in Croatia go to your Catholic Church and pray for him (laughing).

[Jelovac] But I am putting a serious question to you about your relations with Milosevic.

[Panic] You have churches in Croatia, so if you like Milosevic, pray for him. I was just beginning to think that you would not ask about him. So go to church and pray for him!

[Jelovac] Thank you, I am an atheist.

[Panic] That is your problem. You can be what you like. You know, back home in America the law prohibits questions about your religion; that is your private affair. It would be a good thing if that were the case here as well. I hope that it will be better when this stupid war is over. In all respects and in all the new states.

Jovanovic Interviewed on Talks With Croatia

92BA1322D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 92 pp 3-4

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Marjan Jurleka in Budapest; date not given: "'Yugoslavia Is Not Seeking Recognition'"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] *In the lobby of the Hotel Kampinsky in Budapest, Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* [FRY]*," gave an exclusive interview to NOVI VJESNIK. The interview was done before negotiations between the Croatian and Yugoslav sides about exchange of prisoners.*

[Jurleka] What does this meeting with the Croatian delegation represent for the Yugoslav side?

[Jovanovic] It is a prime public obligation for both sides to begin talks, to prepare them thoroughly, and to take a responsible attitude toward them. This meeting must make it possible for the dialogues to continue....

[Jurleka] What would you insist on in this part of the talks concerning the exchange of prisoners?

[Jovanovic] That is a very complicated question. It touches upon international law, because these are individuals on both sides who are deeply involved in crimes and have therefore been tried or are to be tried.

[Jurleka] You acknowledge, then, that your soldiers have committed war crimes?

[Jovanovic] You cannot convict anyone without proving guilt. All crimes must be proven. Under wartime circumstances, people arrive more easily in a situation of exceeding the bounds of human conscience and law and they "sink" to crime. There have certainly been such things in practice. Both sides say that they have evidence that certain individuals have gone beyond that boundary, and they have already been convicted of that. Because we are talking about international war crimes, the persons convicted because of violation of the international law on war ought not to be proposed for exchange or amnesty, because we think that a higher interest of civilization and morality is involved. However, everything is possible in politics, including various kinds of compromises. All I can tell you for certain is that there will be no problems at all in returning most of the prisoners, but those whose war crimes have been proven will come under a special regime.

[Jurleka] Does that mean that you would consent to have war criminals tried under the international law of war before international courts?

[Jovanovic] Yes, our only desire is that persons who pathologically relished what they did to the living and dead, unfortunately there was also some of that, do not go unpunished....

[Jurleka] Those who are today running concentration camps in Serbia would also come under that law?

[Jovanovic] I can tell you that it is absolutely untrue that there are such camps in Serbia. They do quite certainly exist in Bosnia on all sides. All the refugees are giving evidence about them.... That should be investigated, but not just that, that is a practice that must cease instantly. Radically and completely on all sides. The camps are a product of the war, and it is that war that above all should be stopped simultaneously on all sides.

[Jurleka] You have said that you would like to open the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. However, that presupposes a customs checkpoint somewhere. How do you see the solution to that problem?

[Jovanovic] The representatives of the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] must take a position on this. After all, this concerns not only Croatia and FR [Federal Republic] Yugoslavia, but them as well, because a minor section of the highway passes through the zone under UN protection. As far as I recall, it is the decision of the United Nations that their forces should control the borders and all customs matters at the borders of those zones.... I do not see this as a major problem. The opening up of that highway would have quite important symbolic significance, it would encourage those political forces all over the former Yugoslavia to turn toward political solutions, to begin to think about the gains that would be made that way.... This proposal by Mr. Panic to your president was motivated by those objectives, and I think it is absolutely acceptable to all sides.

[Jurleka] Would you like to comment on Mr. Bush's statement yesterday?

[Jovanovic] I do not know all of it. I read only the headlines in the newspaper. I think it was made in a hasty and emotional psychological state. Bush is under the influence of unverified reports reaching him through the mass media. At the same time, he is under pressure of the news about his position in the election campaign, which has not always been favorable. I think that that is the reason why he has several times blurted out several not altogether rational statements.

[Jurleka] Does that mean that you are not afraid of intervention?

[Jovanovic] No. Why do something to make the situation still worse, and that is what would happen with intervention. Interventions are a beginning of something whose end is not in sight. It need not extend to Serbia. I mean Yugoslavia, because we are not involved in any way in the war in Bosnia. The war in Bosnia is the result of the thoughtless moves of the Western powers, above all the EC and the United States.

[Jurleka] If "FR Yugoslavia" recognizes Croatia, what about Knin?

[Jovanovic] Krajina is under UN protection and will be for an indefinite period. The world organization has supreme authority on that territory....

[Jurleka] But Croatian borders are clearly drawn in the last report of Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and the Resolution of the UN Security Council, which has accepted that report.

[Jovanovic] That has not been sufficiently cleared up. And that is not definitive. Cyrus Vance's plan explicitly stated that the United Nations has supreme authority on that territory, that local agencies organize life, that the principle of ethnic representation is to be respected in the police, that the government is to act with the help of UN police, that foreign relations of that zone are regulated through the United Nations, and that the presence of the United Nations does not prejudice the political solution. It must be found in the talks which should begin, if they have not already, between representatives of Krajina and the Croatian authorities. So, it is not valid to treat that question differently than as one which has its legal and political component under the protectorate of the United Nations, so long as it lasts.

[Jurleka] You are aware that there are causalities related to recognition. Until you recognize Croatia and B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], the world will not recognize you.

[Jovanovic] Nor are we seeking recognition. We are not a new state as is the case with these four former republics. We are continuing life in Yugoslavia. Only in a smaller space. We have helped the new states to gain international recognition, to enter the Conference on European Security and Cooperation and the United Nations. We are also ready to help them to join international financial institutions more easily and quickly and as inexpensively as possible. We are obliged to do that by the declaration contained in the preamble of our Constitution, and now that is what we are doing. Accordingly, recognition of the new states is something that should have occurred at the end of the Conference on Yugoslavia. However, that has already been violated by a certain number of countries.... The new situations are new realities. But much of that must be dealt with in parallel fashion because of the new situation that has arisen.

[Jurleka] You said four. Which means that this also includes Macedonia?

[Jovanovic] We have not disputed Macedonia's right to the direction that it chooses. We have no problem with Macedonia. To be sure, there are a few problems about the rights of the Serbs who have been given poorer treatment than other ethnic groups, but that is not a very serious problem. It is up to Macedonia to gain that international recognition. As far as we are concerned, they simply have to take note that we are continuing life in the remainder of Yugoslavia, and we will recognize the new reality in the south. We will recognize Macedonia very quickly.

Effects of Federal Reorganization Discussed

92BA1331D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 92 p 13

[Article by Spasenija Vujosevic: "Beginning of Reorganization of Federal Administration: Entire Administration Threatened by Dismissal"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] There are no longer any federal secretariats, but instead federal ministries, and there are also other changes in the federal administration. The entire federal administration has the status of either temporarily deployed or "waiting for a job," while some have been dismissed. An effort is being made to align the periods of notice that apply to "feds" with those that apply to all workers. Federal ministers cannot take vacations,

although as of yesterday they are contractors, because they are preparing a new job system.

As of Saturday, the 8,079 employees of the federal administration were, practically speaking, given notice! This does not mean, however, that the federal state has ceased to function, only that a reorganization of the federal government and its services has begun, together with a reduction in the number of employees there. Specifically, for the majority of federal workers, the uncertainty about their jobs will probably be cleared up by Friday, when they receive a decision on a temporary continuation of work in the same or another organ, effective immediately. Others who are superfluous will receive or have received decisions on so-called compulsory vacation, while some "white-collar" workers have actually been given notice.

There is also uncertainty with regard to heads of organs and their deputies, the functionaries. They will continue to work until 31 August, although until then their status is that of contractors. The federal government will decide whether they will remain in their posts beyond the end of this summer month or whether they too will become superfluous when it names new heads of organs and their deputies according to the new system that is under preparation, and which should be in force by then, according to the established deadlines.

However, this is only the beginning of the reconstruction of administrative organs, federal organizations, and operational services, but also the beginning of the process of reassessing the number of employees in them. This was made possible by the Regulation on the Creation of Federal Ministries, Other Federal Organs, and Federal Organizations, which was enacted by the federal government. After its publication in the SLUZBENI LIST of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] on 31 July, it went into effect on Saturday.

New Ministries

All the existing federal secretariats and other federal administrative organs and federal organizations ceased to exist on Saturday. As of yesterday, however, the federal ministries and other federal administrative organs and federal organizations created by the regulation began functioning.

According to that regulation, there are 17 federal ministries. Four of them are new—the Federal Ministry for Human Rights and Minority Rights, the Federal Ministry for Science, Technology, and Development, the Federal Ministry for Environment, and the Federal Ministry for Sports.

In the past, there have been many attempts to carry out a transformation of federal organs, and it has been seen that it is not a good thing when a percentage is specified in advance with regard to reductions. The essential difference is that now federal organs will directly execute federal regulations. Some of them will have to increase in size because they are being given certain new duties, but professional-technical services will also be concentrated, explains Milos Gavrilovic, the head of the federal government's service for personnel affairs.

It has been announced "from on high" that the number of employees in federal organs must be reduced by around 30 percent. Since we counted 8,079 federal employees on the payroll on 30 June, this means that their numbers must be reduced to around 5,000.

"Of all the existing ministries, only four of them account for around 65 percent of all employees. This situation has always existed, regardless of the organization in question. These most numerous areas are the organs of foreign affairs and of internal affairs, the customs service, and air traffic control. This has always been the case, due to the requirements of the work, and regardless of all this, this ratio will not be significantly disturbed, despite the desire to reduce the number of employees," says Gavrilovic.

The Past

Under the job system previously in effect, provisions were made for 12,213 jobs.

Despite this, on 31 December of last year there were 10,411 workers working in the federal administration. Six months later, there were only 8,079 employees, which means that under the given system only 66.15 percent of all jobs were filled. During those six months, 325 people retired, 88 went into the economy, 157 went to other federal organs, and 1,883 went to other organizations....

However, all of this is not enough. More federal employees will have to lose their jobs in order for the federal civil service to be reduced to the true scale of the new federal state and its functions. For many of the superfluous workers, these "cuts" will proceed relatively painlessly. All those who remain with the status of unassigned worker will receive payments from the federal treasury for a certain period of time until assignment to a new position or until the final termination of employment.

According to the current regulations, managerial workers can remain as contractors for one year, after which they are subject to the new deadlines, which apply immediately only to "ordinary" federal workers, depending on their length of service. Specifically, unassigned workers with up to 15 years of service can remain on the federal payroll for one year, while those who have more than 15 years of service can remain for two years.

"At a recent session of the administrative commission, a new Law on Employee Rights in Organs of the Federation was put forward, proposing a period of notice of six months for everyone. We proceeded from the assumption that workers in federal administration should share the fate of all workers," says Gavrilovic.

Crucial Saturday

Federal employees who receive a decision on a temporary continuation of work or are waiting for work are not

able to provide for their future. Because all such decisions will be applicable temporarily, until a new job system is adopted under which the definitive distribution of jobs will be carried out.

"As of Saturday, both functionaries and managerial workers are contractors, while other workers are unassigned unless the current federal minister specifies that a certain worker should continue to do his job until the legislation on the new system is adopted. Some, however, will receive a decision on the termination of employment, while a third group of workers awaits 'transfer' to the service for personnel affairs, through which they will exercise their employment rights—until further notice. Specifically, some will do work at home, while some will be used in other jobs as needed, but this too is a temporary arrangement until final reorganization," says Milos Gavrilovic.

Thus, even if they are still working at the moment, this does not mean that they will not become superfluous once the new organization and system goes into effect. Because according to Article 52 of the regulation, existing federal secretariats and other federal administrative organs and federal organizations cease to function on the day that it goes into effect. On the next day, according to that article, Sunday, the federal ministries and other federal administrative organs and federal organizations as created by that regulation begin work, and the question of who will work on an ongoing basis will be answered in a month or two.

"The federal ministers, even though in practical terms their mandates expired yesterday, have a period of 15 days, and thus until 23 August at the latest, to submit a general document on the organization and system of jobs for their department to the federal government for approval," says Gavrilovic.

Thus, there is no mandatory vacation for ministers. But only for now.

[Box, p 13]

Young and Educated

Nevertheless, our federal administration thus far has been both young and educated.

Of the 8,079 employees on 30 June, 3,029 employees were between 40 and 50, while only 85 workers were over 60. If one considers that 1,120 workers were under the age of 30, then it is not difficult to figure that largest number was between 30 and 40. There are also more men working in the federal administration—4,820. Women employed in the federal administration accounted for 3,238.

There were 2,845 workers with university-level training, of which 35 were doctors of science and 99 holders of master's degrees. There were 1,118 with advanced training, 2,626 with intermediate training, and 523 with low-level training. There were 418 highly skilled workers on the federal payroll on 30 June, 383 skilled workers, 97 semiskilled workers, and 12 unskilled workers.

[Box, p 13]

Mostly Serbs and Montenegrins

In the past, citizenship has been one of the critical conditions for jobs in federal administrative organs, and it will continue to be so in the future as well.

"This will be one of the mandatory general conditions in the new system as well. A significant number of employees from other states have already applied for Serbian citizenship, because the law on citizenship has not yet been adopted," says Gavrilovic.

Based on employee self-identification, there were 878 Montenegrins, 238 Croats, 146 Macedonians, 45 Slovenes, 5,617 Serbs, 137 Muslims, 116 Albanians, 70 Hungarians, and 680 Yugoslavs working in the federal administration up to 30 June, while 152 employees fell into the category "other."

"This sort of national structure of employees is logical, because in our services in Serbia we have never engaged in national selection. Because of the circumstances, however, some people from secessionist republics have left, regardless of whether the appeal by their republics that they return was in keeping with their own wishes. Most frequently, they left for family and other reasons. Slovenia and Macedonia, for example, found jobs for all the workers who had been at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in their own corresponding organs, and hired them," explains Gavrilovic.

Serbia

Milosevic Meets, Discusses Kosovo With UN Envoy

LD2508142292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic stressed in talks today with Tadeusz Mazowiecki that the new constitution of the Republic of Serbia guarantees human rights to all its citizens, irrespective of their national, religious, or any other affiliation in accordance with the highest international standards.

According to a statement on today's talks between the Serbian president and Mazowiecki, who is visiting Serbia as a special envoy of the UN Commission for Human Rights, Milosevic stressed that the Republic of Serbia is defined as a state of all citizens who live in it, not as a state of one nation, the biggest nation. Milosevic added that Serbia is open to all visits, tours, and inspections, whether these visits are for business or pleasure.

As regards Kosovo and Metohija, President Milosevic stressed that neither individual nor collective rights are

threatened in the province [words indistinct] through the national domination on the part of Albanians to turn it into an independent state, i.e. annex it to another country.

Milosevic stressed that it is an obvious attack on the integrity and constitutional order of the Republic of Serbia, which its organs cannot permit. Kosovo is Serbia and will always be Serbia. All questions regarding Kosovo can be resolved only on the basis of the constitution of the Republic of Serbia, President Milosevic said in talks with Tadeusz Mazowiecki today.

'Special Status' of Certain Regions Opposed

92BA1331C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 92 p 10

[Article including interview with Dr. Leon Kojen of the Democratic Movement of Serbia by C. Martic; date and place not given: "Patient Political Dialogue With Minorities"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Accepting "special status" for Kosovo and Metohija, Vojvodina, and Sandzak would result in the internal division of Serbia, because these regions would be under an international protectorate.

The declaration by the Democratic Movement of Serbia [Depos] puts an end to a half a century of communist constitution-building, because it calls for the definitive abolition of the provinces as a form of territorial-political autonomy within Serbia, says Dr. Leon Kojen, who prepared the basic text of that document as a member of a Depos working group.

However, Kojen continues, at the same time it is important that the declaration offers a just, democratic solution to the minority question in Serbia.

The Depos figure feels that relations with minorities in Serbia today are at a critical point. Minority parties, especially Albanian and Muslim ones, are openly making separatist or semiseparatist demands, while until quite recently government authorities rejected any serious political dialogue with minorities about their problems. Fortunately, the stance of the federal and republican authorities today is more reasonable. They are calling for talks without any preconditions, but, Dr. Kojen says, for now neither the Albanians nor the Muslims accept these talks.

On Special Status

When asked about the reasons for this type of behavior by political representatives of minority groups, Dr. Leon Kojen says that the main reason is the certainty of Albanian and Muslim leaders that they enjoy almost the full support of the international community.

"Admittedly, the Western powers are not yet questioning the inviolability of the borders of Serbia and Montenegro, and are even insisting on this. But why has Carrington's 'special status' been sought for Kosovo and Metohija, for Vojvodina, and for the entire region of the former Turkish Sandzak ever since the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia of last fall? This 'special status' implies territorial-political autonomy (their own legislative, executive, and judicial authorities), but also significantly more than that. The Carrington document also calls for the permanent demilitarization of those regions, as well as international supervision over the implementation of their 'special status.'

"If all of this were accepted, it is clear that Serbia would be internally divided, and that Kosovo and Metohija, Vojvodina, and Sandzak would become some sort of international protectorate," says Dr. Kojen.

"That is why it is all the more disturbing that the Western factors have not abandoned this demand, which was recently repeated in Belgrade by the British foreign minister and current EC president, Douglas Hurd, and Lord Carrington," Kojen notes. "Making their maximum demands, the Albanians and Muslims figure that with international assistance, they will at least acquire this 'special status.'"

Outside Pressure Is Not a Solution

"I am afraid that both Western politicians and representatives of the most important minorities (with the exception of the Hungarians) are making a mistake when they think that solutions can be extorted through outside pressure, solutions that have no basis in international law nor any real political support in Serbia. Neither the government nor the opposition nor the political public in general can agree to any sort of 'special status' for these regions, because that would directly encroach on the territorial integrity and political unity of Serbia. These demands are especially unacceptable with regard to Vojvodina, where the vast majority of the population is Serbian, not minority.

"The only way out of this dangerous situation, as Depos sees it, lies in patient political dialogue with minorities, which, like our declaration, would take as its starting point the equal rights and obligations of all citizens, regardless of religion and nationality. In our declaration, we offered one such solution to the minority question, the details of which are certainly open to criticism, but I do think that one cannot deny its good intentions. If that solution were to be adopted, then the government and majority would have no reason to suspect the minorities of separatism, nor would the minorities have reason to fear the government and majority population. That is the biggest problem right now: how to dispel the majority's suspicions on the one hand and the minorities' fear on the other hand. But I hope that all political factors in Serbia, having learned from the tragic experience of Bosnia, will manage to respect reason more than feelings, and to be political realists instead of political maximalists," Dr. Leon Kojen said in closing.

Firms Fear Forthcoming Economic Collapse

92BA1331B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 92 p 7

[Article by A. Mijalkovic: "Hot Summer for Serbian Economy: Companies Fear Fall Collapse"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] The inadmissible monetary "breach" has provoked chaos and caused a further increase in inflation; The good side and the bad side of measures by the Serbian Government; What businessmen in the Economic Chamber of Serbia [PKS] are complaining about.

Thanks to the exceptional efforts by our enterprises, the assumptions contained in the Serbian Government's program to alleviate the consequences of the sanctions and lower inflation have been realized. But the state, for its part, has not only failed to help in this regard; indeed, some of its moves have led to a further worsening of the situation. The greatest omission, which has resulted in unprecedented chaos, has occurred in the area of monetary and foreign-exchange policy. There has been an incomprehensible and inadmissible "breach" in the prime-issue money supply, and it is even unclear where part of this money went. It is believed that it went for the purchase of around $50 million on the black market. This not only increased inflation but also caused a further jump in the black-market price of foreign exchange and brought us even closer to a new devaluation of the dinar. But even when the current official exchange rate was set at 200 dinars to one dollar, it was felt that its value was overrated. These were the comments of Momir Pavlicevic, a member of the Presidency of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, and of late probably the busiest man in the sunny building on Ulica Generala Zdanova.

Reimbursement and Free Prices

Our discussion partner feels that the government's measures, which have gained support in the PKS, have nevertheless yielded some results: Production has fallen off less than could be expected, earnings in the economy have not gone beyond established limits, and prices in July were more or less under control. Admittedly, the moderate number of requests for price increases last month was more the result of an inability to adapt to the procedure or of previous, major increases in the price of certain products, so that the real picture is being seen only now: August requests are significantly greater in terms of both number and percentages, says Pavlicevic. In the chamber, it is felt that price controls should be kept only for raw materials and intermediate goods, energy sources, and basic food production, while all other prices should be established freely.

"It would be better for the state to reimburse primary production and cover losses there while leaving everything else to function at market prices. In this way we would avoid paradoxical situations where, say, raw materials in some places are more expensive than the final product, a (home) telephone costs three months' pay while burned-out wire is more expensive per kilogram than a car is, or where the share of earnings for raw materials is falling (for example, at Bor or MKS [Smederevo Metalworks]) while it is on the rise for finalists! And one more example: Wages account for only 6 percent of the selling price of Bor copper; the rest comes from expenses that are not very dependent on the company," Pavlicevic asserts.

Besides prices, the focus of summer activity at the Economic Chamber of Serbia is on monitoring the execution of various republican laws (on taxes, housing, earnings) and, naturally, on business activities, especially those areas of vital importance (food production, energy, medicine) as well as on maintaining industry's operational readiness in order to avoid an interruption in the process that would cause long-term damage.

"The economic situation of our enterprises, according to the information that we receive regularly, has become significantly more grave over the past two months. Economic conditions have worsened, stocks of finished goods and materials have been exhausted, there is no money for new production, so that collapse is expected in the coming months. The fact that enterprises managed somehow to survive the beginning of summer does not mean that we can continue to count on their survival under these conditions. Indeed, July and August are months in which many people go on vacation anyway. Many firms have used up all of this year's vacation pay; some are doing no work at all and intend to use vacation time from 1993; some are working at only 10-percent capacity.... The real state of affairs will not be seen until the fall, and it will be terrible. The chamber is ready for this, but it seems to me that the Serbian Government is not, that there could be significantly more intense confrontations between us," says Pavlicevic.

Where To Spend Surplus Dinars

In order to get a better, and timely, understanding of the real situation in the Serbian economy, the chamber, in conjunction with the Republican Institute for Development, is preparing a survey on material balances, which would cover around 400 firms. An analysis is also being done into how to increase domestic demand, or rather how to commit surplus dinars to the market more efficiently (it is better to stimulate investment in production and housing purchases than to use this money to buy foreign exchange on the black market). Comments are also being prepared concerning the law on corporate gains taxes (holding companies) and the law on housing (many enterprises are opposed to setting aside 1.3 percent of gross earnings for solidary construction, because they allege that this is a return to the self-management system of the association of resources). The businessmen also have objections to what they call the outdated, unconstitutional solutions whereby resources are set aside for a fund to pay the lowest wages, feeling that this money would be better invested in production. "It has been seen that earmarking funds from the economy has

increased significantly for six months, which promotes unjustified budgetary spending under conditions when enterprises do not have the means to survive," says Pavlicevic.

The Serbian Chamber hopes that many illogical elements will be corrected when the federal government officially puts forth its economic program, and that republican measures will be harmonized with it. The majority of employees at the Yugoslav Chamber are on vacation, which for many of them, unfortunately, will be extended indefinitely. Perhaps it was one of these malcontents who recently broke the glass at the entrance to the PKJ [Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia] building in Terazije. Or maybe it was just the wind?

[Box, p 7]

Representatives Abroad Should Stay

"We feel that Serbia should keep its economic representatives abroad, because the blockade will not last forever, and once you break off ties it will be hard to reestablish them. Anyway, no one has demanded that we close our missions out in the world, nor have we been obstructed from carrying out business discussions; there is just no concrete business (for now). Consultations are under way in the PKS concerning the selection of directors of vacant missions abroad (United States, Bulgaria, Greece...), and I believe that they will get down to business in the fall, once the other representatives who are now on vacation have returned to work," says Momir Pavlicevic.

Kosovo

Rugova Warns of Radicalization, 'Outright War'

AU2508104892 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 25 Aug 92 p 2

[Interview with Ibrahim Rugova, the president of the "Republic of Kosovo," by Dardan Gashi in Pristina; date not given: "It Would Be a Catastrophe"]

[Text] [Gashi] What do you think of the fact that Lord Carrington invited you to the Yugoslavia conference in London?

[Rugova] We expected that we would be invited as a partner with equal rights. The Albanians are the third largest people of Yugoslavia and used to be a constructive element of the federation. We are not happy with the form of the invitation but, nevertheless, we will participate in the conference. We are hoping that we will be able to present our standpoints and demands to the world in a better way. Our main demand is to achieve independence for Kosovo.

[Gashi] Do you expect the conference to show understanding for your demands?

[Rugova] I am not very optimistic in this connection. Nevertheless, we believe that this conference is more authoritative than previous ones and hope that the world will understand that independent Kosovo—neutral and open vis-a-vis Albania and Serbia—is the only solution in the long term.

[Gashi] Lord Carrington and the EC perceive the solution to the Kosovo problem in a "special status." What do you think of that?

[Rugova] Autonomy within Serbia is certainly not what the Albanians want. We would continue to live under Serbian control. Moreover, I doubt that Serbia would agree to it. With the help of the international community of states we want to create conditions that will enable the population to decide on the future status of Kosovo.

[Gashi] Will you change your policy if your course, which has so far been moderate—fails to achieve these objectives?

[Rugova] We have repeatedly stated that we have only a few possibilities for pursuing another policy. If we continue to be ignored we cannot guarantee that the people or certain groups will not opt for a more radical strategy.

[Gashi] If this were to lead to outright war, would Albania also get involved in the conflict?

[Rugova] Whatever happens in Kosovo will also affect the other Albanians—regardless of whether the Albanian Government likes it or not. It would be a major catastrophe.

Albanian Taught as Foreign Language at University

AU2608090092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Interview with Radivoje Popovic, rector of Pristina University, by Milisav Milic; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Milic] Rector Popovic, how are the preparations going for the forthcoming academic year at Pristina University?

[Popovic] As far as preparations for the forthcoming academic year are concerned, I can really inform the public at large that much has been done that will contribute to the quality of education at this university.

Just as an example, let me tell you that at the schools of theology, philology, electronics, physical education, and engineering, we have equipped a large part of the laboratories, and so practically created conditions in which the students can have everything to guarantee them a developing process, an education at the highest possible level in Yugoslavia.

[Milic] How many students are going to enroll at Pristina University?

[Popovic] According to the agreement in the Serbian Government, some 3,000 students will enroll in our university.

[Milic] What is the fate of lessons in Albanian?

[Popovic] As far as the fate of lessons in Albanian is concerned, it is completely determined. Lessons in Albanian will be held at the department for Albanian Language and Literature, and nowhere else and nothing else.

[Milic] The Albanian-language newspaper BUJKU has announced the start of an open competition for 7,200 student places for Albanians.

[Popovic] I do not make it my business to analyze the contents of BUJKU, but based on everything you have just told me, I can only say that BUJKU might be referring to Albanian students' enrollment at Tirana University. As for Pristina University, there will be absolutely no such thing.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Views Issues at London Conference

LD2508171692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 25 Aug 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 August (TANJUG)—President of the Montenegrin Presidency Momir Bulatovic stated today, prior to his departure for London, that Montenegro will be referred to at the Conference on Yugoslavia as a constituent part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Bulatovic told journalists at Belgrade Airport that he thinks that the same political option holds for all members of the Yugoslav delegation and that he does not believe there will be particular differences in their approach at the conference.

The Montenegrin Presidency president said that the Republic of Montenegro is interested in talks regarding problems of protection of minority rights and rights of ethnic groups in that republic.

Bulatovic does not expect the Conference on Yugoslavia to devote greater attention to Prevlaka, in which Montenegro is particularly interested.

"I will certainly raise the Prevlaka issue during the session of the conference," Bulatovic said, and added that it is necessary to show the world that just lines of demarcation must be drawn between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Bulatovic concluded that despite difficulties the London conference can be expected to be "a real and better beginning" of the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.